

fish and wildlife within their territorial boundaries; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. LENNON:

H.R. 17295. A bill to encourage the growth of international trade on a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LONG of Louisiana:

H.R. 17296. A bill to provide for the election of circuit and district judges under the provisions of the article of amendment to the Constitution proposed by House Joint Resolution 1269 of the 90th Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'HARA of Illinois:

H.R. 17297. A bill to provide for orderly trade in iron ore, iron, and steel mill products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

H.R. 17298. A bill to provide for a national cemetery at Fort Custer, Mich.; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 17299. A bill to provide for the appointment of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation as receiver, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 17300. A bill to enable baby chick, started pullet, laying hen, and table egg producers to consistently provide an adequate supply of these commodities to meet the needs of consumers, to stabilize, maintain, and develop orderly marketing conditions at prices reasonable to the consumers and producers, and to promote and expand the use and consumption of such commodities and products thereof; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KEITH:

H.R. 17301. A bill to provide for an equitable sharing of the U.S. market by electronic articles of domestic and foreign origin; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 17302. A bill to encourage the growth of international trade on a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KORNEGAY:

H.R. 17303. A bill to encourage the growth of international trade on a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland:

H.R. 17304. A bill to provide an equitable system for fixing and adjusting the rates of compensation of wage board employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 17305. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act so as to extend and improve the provisions relating to regional medical programs, to extend the authorization of grants for health of migratory agricultural workers, to provide for specialized facilities for alcoholics and narcotic addicts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 17306. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rates of duty on fresh, prepared, or

preserved strawberries; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROSENTHAL:

H.R. 17307. A bill to provide for a study of the extent and enforcement of State laws and regulations governing the operation of youth camps; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 17308. A bill to make available half the revenues from the excise tax on pistols and revolvers to the States for target ranges and firearms safety training programs, and to make the other half of such revenues available to the Federal aid to wildlife restoration fund; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WYMAN:

H.R. 17309. A bill to provide for an exemption from tax for tobacco products furnished to inmates of certain penal institutions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DINGELL (for himself, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mrs. GRIFFITHS, Mr. NEDZI, and Mr. O'HARA of Michigan):

H.R. 17310. A bill to designate certain lands in the Seney, Huron Islands, and Michigan Islands National Wildlife Refuges in Michigan as wilderness; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FLYNT (for himself, Mr. BROTZMAN, and Mr. RHODES of Arizona):

H.R. 17311. A bill to adjust the retirement status of permanent professors at the U.S. Military Academy and the U.S. Air Force Academy; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BOW:

H.J. Res. 1272. Joint resolution making a supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 1273. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS of Florida:

H.J. Res. 1274. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GUDE:

H. Con. Res. 777. Concurrent resolution recognizing the importance of the 28th International Congress on Alcohol and Alcoholism to world health; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland:

H. Con. Res. 778. Concurrent resolution to establish a joint congressional committee to reexamine the objectives and nature of the foreign assistance programs and the relationship of such programs to vital U.S. interests; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H. Con. Res. 779. Concurrent resolution to create a joint congressional committee to

provide Congress with a plan for legislation to deal with the crisis of the cities; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SHIPLEY:

H. Res. 1174. Resolution concerning investigation of operations of U.S. military credit unions in the European and Pacific commands; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred to as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 17312. A bill for the relief of Salome Eleria Villanueva; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 17313. A bill for the relief of Antonino Abrignani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 17314. A bill for the relief of Antonio Mignanelli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17315. A bill for the relief of Teresa Petralito; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 17316. A bill for the relief of Katina Kapiniari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 17317. A bill for the relief of Gino Volpi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HANNA:

H.R. 17318. A bill for the relief of Maria Nelly Toscano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H.R. 17319. A bill for the relief of Yoko Jimbu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ICHORD:

H.R. 17320. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to grant an easement over certain lands to the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Co.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ROONEY of New York:

H.R. 17321. A bill for the relief of Miss Georgina Ongpin Villacorta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 17322. A bill for the relief of Maria Carcone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 17323. A bill for the relief of Aggeliki J. Boudouvas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

316. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the Municipal Council of the City of Clifton, N.J., relative to the weight restrictions on interstate highways, which was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A THIRD PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FOR MID-SOUTH CONSERVATIVES

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, Senators will be interested, I am sure, in an article entitled "Conservatives Flock to An-

other Byrd," published in the Memphis Commercial Appeal of April 27, 1968. The article was written by Mr. Morris Cunningham, a veteran Washington correspondent for the great Memphis newspaper.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, which relates to the distinguished junior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVATIVES FLOCK TO ANOTHER BYRD
(By Morris Cunningham)

WASHINGTON, April 27.—Mid-South conservatives, many of whom are torn between Republican Richard M. Nixon and Southern Democrat George C. Wallace, soon may have a third choice.

Senate sources reported late this week that Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-W. Va.) is seri-

ously considering jumping into the presidential race.

Byrd is said to be encouraged by a sizable response to a Senate speech in which he questioned the wisdom of the late Dr. Martin Luther King's intervention in the Memphis garbage collectors strike.

Unexpected write-ins have put him far ahead of Senators Robert F. Kennedy and Eugene J. McCarthy in a Democratic presidential popularity poll being conducted by a newspaper in his home state.

"I know that he is very seriously considering running," a Senate colleague reported.

Byrd first attracted national attention three years ago when as head of a Senate District of Columbia subcommittee he conducted a hard-hitting investigation of the public welfare program.

The investigation evoked bitter criticism from liberals who deeply resented Byrd assigning investigators to determine whether mothers receiving aid to dependent children were maintaining men in their homes in defiance of D.C.'s "man of the house" rule.

The investigators reported seeing men run out back doors, dive under beds, and jump out windows, in attempts to evade detection and avoid cutoffs of welfare checks.

Despite the liberal outcries, Byrd so conducted the investigation and subsequent D.C. involvements that his Senate colleagues have made him Congress' top man on D.C. affairs, with a strong hand in legislation as well as appropriations.

Taking a consistently conservative view, he blocked almost single-handedly wholesale busing of D.C. pupils and has opposed the whole concept of busing pupils to achieve greater racial integration.

Byrd's conservatism comes naturally. Now 50, he was a teen-ager in impoverished West Virginia during the great depression of the 1930s.

A foster child who saw Christmases come and go without a stick of candy, he collected garbage from neighbors to feed pigs to sell and graduated from high school at the top of his class—only to find he couldn't get a job. He finally got one as a gas station attendant. Later he became a butcher in a mining town's company store.

He drank whisky and joined the Ku Klux Klan. Later, perhaps influenced by his Baptist faith, he gave up both. For years now he has been a teetotaler.

His first venture into politics was as a fiddle-playing candidate for the West Virginia House of Delegates. He won big, and began a pattern of politics and night school college work that continued until, as a United States senator, he earned a law degree at American University here in Washington—cum laude.

Fellow Democratic senators demonstrated their faith and confidence in Byrd last year when they elected him secretary of the Senate Democratic Conference. He defeated Senator Joseph S. Clark (D-Penn.), who had been regarded as an easy winner.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT INCENTIVE ACT OF 1968

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it is written in the Bible that the poor shall always be among us.

This, unfortunately, has been the case throughout recorded history. Yet, the poor are never so present as when they are highly visible. Witness to this fact

can be seen in the activities and controversies which have arisen in community action programs throughout the Nation since the inception of the Office of Economic Opportunity; in the growing number of spokesmen who purport to speak for the poor; in the increasing strain on our public welfare roles; and the growing public awareness of this fact, in the banding together of geographically separated groups of the poor to join in concert to illustrate their plight and seek redress.

Another dramatic example of visible poverty is the crowded and sordid conditions which exist in the slums or ghettos of our Nation. These conditions know no bounds of discrimination; they are not deterred by race, color, or creed. In too many tragic instances this visibility has manifested itself in inexcusable, at times irreparable, and often incomprehensible acts of wanton violence.

Great strides have been made in this decade in affording legal status to the constitutional guarantees of human rights. Yet too little, far too little, has been done to afford opportunity for economic improvement with which to make these rights meaningful.

The phenomenon of poverty has no simple explanation. By and large, the poor among us are not poor by choice. They are poor by circumstance and the circumstance for each case may vary in each case. Yet, while we may gain valuable knowledge in study of the causes of poverty, we must move forward with realistic programs for alleviating it.

Geographically, the poor of America can be divided into two groups, the highly visible urban massed poor whose slum homes may be seen briefly by the more affluent and fortunate America as it speeds past over expressways and superhighways, and the invisible rural poor who are seldom seen because of their isolation, yet whose bleak life of deprivation and void of hope is just as real as that of their crowded urban counterpart.

There are 14 million of these rural American poor and they migrate at the rate of 500,000 each year into our crowded cities. The fact of the matter is that the programs we have today simply cannot move fast enough to alleviate existing conditions in our cities. There is little hope, then, that they will be able to accommodate this continuing and growing rural influx.

In recent years, Congress has devoted its attention to the problems of our cities because that is where some of our greatest domestic problems are most visible.

Yet, in the area of poverty, we have neglected a major contributor to these urban problems, the immigration of the rural poor.

The National Commission on Rural Poverty has made an extensive study of this condition and has recommended that efforts be initiated, through economic incentive in rural America, to reverse this immigration to our already overcrowded cities.

In line with many of the recommendations of the Commission, my distinguished colleague from Tennessee, the Honorable JOE L. EVINS, has introduced

legislation seeking to aid our cities through revitalization of rural America.

His bill, the Rural Development Incentive Act of 1968, designed to stem outmigration from rural America and assist in solution of urban problems, calls for the establishment of tax incentives such as liberalized investment tax credits, accelerated depreciation schedules, and similar steps to encourage or assist firms locating or expanding in rural areas.

There is no man in Congress more fully aware of the many facets of poverty as it affects urban and rural America than the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. EVINS]. Through his work as chairman of the Independent Offices Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, he has a great understanding of the crisis in our cities and has moved forward programs designed to meet this crisis. For more than 20 years, he has represented a district in Congress which is essentially rural. These combined experiences have given him insight not only into the effects of poverty, but to the economics of poverty as they relate and interrelate to the urban and rural poor.

Mr. Speaker, there is no panacea for poverty. But there is nothing, on a case-by-case basis, that will alleviate poverty more rapidly than a job. Not a make-work, Federally sponsored WPA-type job, but a job paying a decent wage and offering economic security and advancement commensurate with a man's ability to produce and improve his productive capacity.

Representative EVINS' bill is designed to provide this type of economic opportunity through productive enterprise, which will also spark economic growth. Because I believe this is one of the best bastions from which to launch and carry out the fight against poverty and reduce its terrible cost to productive society, I am pleased today to join with Chairman EVINS in cosponsorship of this legislation.

THE NATION SHOULD BE PROUD OF THE RESERVES

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the magazine *The Officer* for May 1968, contains an excellent editorial entitled, "The Nation Should Be Proud of the Reserves."

The editorial states that despite the fact that many Reserve units suffered from neglect, lack of support, and various official acts that tended to discourage Reserve training, there was nothing wrong with the individual reservist. The editorial pays tribute to the men who have been called to active duty and cites the current status of the Reserve Forces in the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard.

In appreciation for the splendid service rendered by our Reserves, I invite the attention of Senators to this excellent editorial and ask unanimous consent

that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NATION SHOULD BE PROUD OF THE RESERVES

The Senate adopted a report last year, supporting its appropriations for the military Reserves, which stated among other things that the record of service of the Reserves, throughout the history of our nation was too vital to require any recital in 1967.

A half dozen years earlier, one of the nation's great military leaders, Admiral Arleigh Burke, had voiced a lack of concern for the attacks being made at the time upon military leaders, asserting that it was perhaps normal in peacetime to "downgrade" the military but that when the country needed its military men and women they always were responsive.

These statements, and the facts they represent, give a little more than reassurance in assessing the action required in the face of a single criticism, in a single magazine, by a single youthful and inexperienced enlisted man. Many of our members have been disturbed by this article and there has been a limited demand that we refute the statements made.

Yet, are these words of calumny really deserving of first class attention? And, are they really opprobrious after all?

We know there is plenty wrong with the nation's reserves. They have long been suffering from neglect, from lack of support, from official discouragement and from various official acts which had many of them in the doldrums. For three years we have been pleading for a better deal for the Reserves.

The Armed Services Committee and the Defense Appropriations Committees of both House and Senate have used a lexicon in charging that the Reserves were being weakened and undermined, and none other than the chairman of the Preparedness Committee of the Senate charged that both the Army Reserve and the National Guard were imprisoned by a "Reign of Terror" with a resultant lack of desired effectiveness.

Yet, in the face of all this, the actual state of the Reserves today—when their country needs them, as we have said all along—stands as the greatest tribute and a badge of the highest honor to them all and to their leaders.

The battle, of course, is the payoff, but let us examine in the few paragraphs of space here what we have in the Reserves today:

MARINES

The Fourth Division/Wing has been developed into an organization of experience and skill, under proven leadership, which gives this nation in the Marine Reserve a fit and ready fighting outfit.

COAST GUARD

Its units, with 18,000 Reservists including 2,000 experienced and highly trained officers, their skills surpassed only by their spirit and dedication, constitute a force ready to go tomorrow—or today.

AIR FORCE

Of the total of 417,000 in the Reserve is a Ready Reserve of 197,000 including 38,000 officers. The 47,000 in units man: 14 airlift wings with 40 assigned groups; 5 aerospace rescue and recovery squadrons; 1 Air Force hospital; 25 medical squadrons; 105 separate medical service flights; 9 aeromedical evacuation squadrons; 14 separate aeromedical evacuation flights; 2 air postal groups of 4 flights each; 12 aerial port squadrons; 1 censorship squadron; 6 military airlift support squadrons; 7 maintenance squadrons, mobile, and 7 supply squadrons, mobile. It has been a fairly well kept secret, but the Air Force Reserve has been in the middle of the Vietnam

war for the past two years with a record that rivals any wartime operation.

NAVY

The Navy's Selected Reserve is composed of 126,000 men with "hip pocket" orders, ready ANY HOUR for a call to duty. They are highly skilled and experienced men who know the ships and aircraft to which they are assigned, and who are ready and capable of carrying out their assignments. The Naval Reserve can give to the Fleet tomorrow OR TODAY 12 destroyers in the Atlantic and 4 destroyers in the Pacific, 12 destroyer escorts in the Atlantic and 7 in the Pacific; 9 mine warfare ships in the Atlantic and 3 in the Pacific . . . a total of 47 surface craft. The Naval Air Reserve also can provide for immediate deployment the following squadrons: 20 helicopter, 8 attack, 33 patrol (ASW), 16 carrier (ASW) and 30 transport. The Naval Air Reserve can also augment the fleet squadrons now in existence with the following air units, 10 helicopter squadrons, 12 attack squadrons, 4 fighter squadrons, 30 patrol (ASW) squadrons, 26 transport squadrons, and 14 carrier (ASW) squadrons.

ARMY

The Army Reserve, battered and harassed as it has been, is proud and prideful, reflecting the effectiveness which comes from the peculiar type of combat which it has undergone during the past three years and from which it has emerged with fine spirit as well as skills. Army's Reserve includes 3,450 units, all far ahead of schedule in the reorganization target date for readiness—31 May. The USAR Ready Reserve includes some 35,000 officers in the 260,000 Ready strength, with 80,000 going into the Selected Reserve Force and deployable within 30 days. In the 260-thousand organization are 13 fine training divisions, 3 combat brigades, 2 maneuver area commands, a field army support command, 4 support brigades, 134 COSTAR (combat support) units, and various support units of all types.

These are the pride of the nation's reserves. They need no defense. What they do, and what they stand for, goes far beyond any need for defense or justification.

SOME 3,500 YOUTHS FIND WORK AT JOB FAIR

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, the Dallas business community recently worked with local civil organizations to provide a "job fair" for youths seeking summer employment. This was one of the best events of this type that I have heard reported and is a good example of the way a community can go about offering assistance to its young people.

I insert a copy of an article by Tommy Ayres in the Dallas Times Herald of May 12, 1968, describing this event:

SOME 3,500 YOUTHS FIND WORK AT JOB FAIR
(By Tommy Ayres)

A wide grin graced the face of one Charles Richards—he had a job.

Charles is 16. He is a junior at Lincoln High School. He wants to be a doctor. But before Saturday, the prospect of his even attending college was a remote one.

He was one of almost 4,000 Dallas area youngsters who showed up for interviews in a massive summer job signup at the State Fair. More than 3,500 youths were successful.

As for Charles, he will work this summer for Anderson Clayton Brothers Funeral Home. He will receive \$1.60 an hour, for 40 hours a week.

"I am going to save as much as I can," he assured. "I want to go to college and take medicine."

"I wanted a job this summer, and I was going to try to find one," he said. "But I don't know if I could have made it without this."

The scene of the giant Job Fair was the Women's Building at the State Fairgrounds.

From wall to wall stood rows of tables. At the tables sat dozens of employers—interviewing youngsters for jobs, and hiring them.

It was all hectic—and heartening. And it climaxed an all-out effort by the Dallas County business community, the Dallas Chamber of Commerce and Texas Employment Commission, to find jobs for the youth of the area this summer. They were most successful.

The Job Fair was conceived by the Urban League of Greater Dallas, nurtured by the Youth Opportunity Committee and coordinated by the Dallas Chamber of Commerce.

"I know," said Morris Hite, general chairman of the Mayor's Youth Opportunity Committee, "that the employment of these youngsters will be of great benefit to Dallas. Substantial wages will be paid and hopefully, many of these boys and girls will be able to save enough to help them continue their schooling."

All Dallas area youngsters from the ages of 16 and 22 from low-income families were eligible for Job Fair assignments. The applicants were first screened in Dallas County schools. There they were matched and scheduled for interviews with 430 employers offering more than 3,500 jobs at the Job Fair.

State, city and federal agencies provided 529 of those jobs.

The jobs themselves include a wide range—from laborers to bus boy, department store salespeople to paste-up work for computerized type.

Transportation to and from the Job Fair was provided by the Dallas Transit System and various volunteer organizations. Free soft drinks were provided by various bottling companies.

Members of the Texas Employment Commission played a major role, taking over interview responsibilities for 191 of the participating companies.

The National Alliance of Businessmen worked closely with the Dallas chamber in an effort to provide many of the jobs. More than 200 businessmen volunteered to help seek the jobs.

On hand to help with the signups Saturday were a number of members from the Dallas Cowboy football team—among them, Frank Clarke.

"This is something that should have been done a long time ago," he said. "The City of Dallas is responding to a sincere and honest need."

"This program is geared to assist the very kind of people who would be hard-pressed to otherwise find summer jobs," Clarke said. "I think it is a very good thing."

And so does Charles Richards.

THE DOCTRINE OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

HON. ALLEN J. ELLENDER

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, on May 1, Judge Fred A. Blanche, Jr., delivered an address, commemorating Law

Day 1968, to members of the bench and bar and to the general public in Baton Rouge, La.

In his speech, Judge Blanche discusses the doctrine of civil disobedience and the logical conclusions and actions which society can reasonably expect to develop from the condoning of such a doctrine. Judge Blanche makes the point that the recent lawlessness, violence, rioting, looting, and murder are the natural outgrowths of conduct described as civil disobedience.

Mr. President, I have said for a good many years in speeches in the Senate Chamber that if our society condoned and encouraged people to break the law merely because they disagreed with those laws, violence, rioting, and even anarchy would result. I do not believe that anyone would disagree with me today.

Judge Blanche's address comes at a time when the Senate is debating the safe streets and crime bill, so I commend the wisdom that is contained in the address to all Members of the Senate. I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of Judge Blanche's speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE HONORABLE FRED A. BLANCHE, JR., AT THE LAW DAY EXERCISES ON MAY 1, 1968, BEFORE THE 19TH JUDICIAL DISTRICT COURT, PARISH OF EAST BATON ROUGE, STATE OF LOUISIANA, AND THE CITY COURT OF THE CITY OF BATON ROUGE, SITTING EN BANC, THE MEMBERS OF THE BATON ROUGE BAR ASSOCIATION AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC AT THE EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH COURTHOUSE, BATON ROUGE, LA.

Two years ago I gave an address at the opening ceremonies of this Nineteenth Judicial District Court where the doctrine of civil disobedience was explored. The doctrine has been preached by many since that address, and now on this spring day which will usher in the summer of 1968 we have seen how the contagious doctrine of non-violent disobedience of the law has spread into the violent disobedience of the law.

So today I would like to speak to you concerning the widespread use of violence, the logical concomitant of civil disobedience, as the acceptable method of achieving lawful ends. When we contemplate the widespread use of such means, we can then begin to think about violent revolution and the threat of destruction it poses to our entire framework of government and the court itself. Violent revolution is the chosen method of the Communists to bring about political and social change, and lest you suspect that I am somewhat of an alarmist and overfearful of the threat of such a revolution, I will shortly offer you some evidence on the subject.

At the outset you may believe that the threat becomes more meaningful when you consider that except for the protection afforded us by law and order, it will become necessary to protect ourselves; and when that day comes, then a riot could well have turned into a revolution.

It is popular sport to label those who seek social change by means of violence or preach selective disobedience of the laws as Communists. I make no such accusation, as I have no proof of it. However, I attach little significance to labels so long as they advocate the overthrow of our Government of laws by such means.

It may well be that some of our laws are unjust and a change is in order, for law is ever changing, but it is a horse of a different color to accomplish such change by unlawful means. It is unlawful to accom-

plish a lawful end by unlawful means, and those who preach such a device either wittingly or unwittingly are playing the prelude to violent revolution.

How is it that one can preach on the one hand nonviolent disobedience of a specific law and on the other reasonably expect that all others be obeyed? It cannot be expected and that is excuse enough for the violence that has followed in the wake of such preaching.

I turn now to an examination of the historical developments which led to our present predicament. I need research no farther than your own memory. The handwriting has been on the wall for some time. It started with the freedom of speech decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the extension of which was the spawning grounds for peaceful demonstrations which ultimately ended up not so peaceful. The doctrine has been in years past used by labor leaders to commit crimes of violence against the property of their employers and against the persons of their fellow employees until our Supreme Court finally placed restrictions on the doctrine.

Sit-in demonstrations were not the original idea of Dr. Martin Luther King, neither were the mass marches that he has led against helpless cities of the United States. They were no more than a copy of the coercive practices (such as sit-ins and mass picketing) employed by labor unions against their employers.

If that Court can place restrictions on free speech in the field of labor relations, I immediately urge them to do so in the civil rights movement. The object sought to be protected is greater. In the former it was the property rights of some unfair employer. In the latter it is the peace and dignity of whole communities and the protection of our constitutional form of government. So much for the crimes committed under the guise of freedom of speech.

It is not difficult to understand the popularity of the doctrine of civil disobedience. This heresy prospered because the morality of the goals of the civil rights movement has obscured the means by which they are attained. But this doctrine examined in its true light is nothing more than a display of the unlawful for their contempt for law and order.

Many responsible leaders and men of good will, because of these worthy goals, have failed to recognize the consequences that follow selective disobedience of the law. Even when riot came, in its wake, the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Hubert Humphrey, stated in a visit to New Orleans in 1966 that if he were a Negro, you would have more trouble than you have had already, because (and I quote) "I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions."

Mr. Lewis F. Powell, the former President of the American Bar Association, writing on this same subject in the U.S. News & World Report, the October 30, 1967, issue, stated:

"Once lawlessness is tolerated and justified, it seeds upon itself and leads either to revolution or violent repressive measures. It has been said wisely: 'Once you give a nervous, hostile and ill-informed people a theoretical justification for using violence in certain cases, it is like a tiny hole in a dike; the rationale rushes through in a torrent and violence becomes the normal, acceptable solution for a problem. . . . A cardinal fact about violence is that once it is initiated, it tends to get out of hand. Its limits are not predictable.'"

Now was this not prophetic and would you believe black power as falling within the predictable limits? This is a call by the militant leaders of the movement on our unsuspecting Negro population for armed revolt. Over and over again they preach to a "nervous, hostile and ill-informed people"

that if they get anything from the white man, they will have to take it by force. Stokely Carmichael has characterized the armed struggle as "the only solution." Wilfred Ussery, number two in command of CORE, has stated that "Armed conflict between black and white can no longer be averted." H. Rap Brown, a native of Baton Rouge, said: "We'll make the Viet Cong look like Sunday School teachers. Violence is necessary."

It was impossible for the average, quiet, peace-loving American citizen hearing these statements to consider them even in the realm of possibility, and they were written off as being no more than the irresponsible statements of some kook or radical. But men and organizations of substance and influence have given comfort to the doctrine. Father Groppi has said: "Morally, I have no argument against the black man's right to use violence." Last October the National Council of Churches sponsored the United States Conference on Church and Society in Detroit, and one of the study groups assigned "The Roll of Violence in the Church" made the suggestion in their report that open violence was a legitimate means by which people can help transform society. What a disservice they do to the kindness and humility of Jesus Christ.

Yes, violence is becoming an acceptable way of resolve. In answer to the freedom rides, white men in certain communities of the south beat the riders and burned up the buses. When civil rights organizers met in churches, white men bombed the churches and killed little children. When a civil rights leader gains prominence, he is murdered by a sniper's bullet. Some were shot and buried like cattle with a bulldozer. Across the river at a jobsite in Plaquemine peaceful picketing was abandoned in favor of chains, clubs and shotguns.

Yes, the weather is getting right as the summer is coming on, and we can reasonably expect rioting, burning and murder. It occurs to me that the white race will be credited by some members of the colored race for the death of Dr. Martin Luther King. Retaliation has occurred and can reasonably be expected in the future, the doctrine of nonviolence notwithstanding. Men are riding around in cars and pick-up trucks with pistols and rifles and shot guns hanging from gun racks, and I am not aware of any hunting season. New marches are being planned like the "Poor People's March" on Washington which ought to number in the millions if all the poor people show up. Yes, not only is the climate right, but both the oppressors and oppressed have arms.

As stated before, the handwriting is on the wall, and from these observations we should all have understood its meaning. It has prompted me to make to you the following recommendations:

First, I recommend the complacent members of both the white and Negro races come alive. I charge them to take leadership of the civil rights movement and take it away from the extremists on both sides. To the members of the Negro race, I charge you that only through lawful means will you obtain the lawful objectives to which you aspire. To the members of the white race, I charge that our greatest sin lies not in our acts of commission but in our acts of omission. The sin is equally as great. Let the law reflect that what we as free, white Americans expect for ourselves we could not in good conscience deny to another. Take your pick—housing, education, public accommodation, employment. The list is long.

Second, I recommend punishment for those who preach disobedience of the law and violence. That seems like a fair limitation on the freedom of speech. Let the law reflect that we will not tolerate these professional agitators who deceive us under the banner of a noble cause.

Third, I recommend that restrictions be placed on the right to demonstrate insofar

as that right threatens the safety of persons and their property in chosen communities. That seems like a fair limitation on the freedom of speech. Let the law reflect that we will not tolerate coercion by thousands and tens of thousands of marchers. Surely you will remember that our courts struck down mass picketing by labor unions as not within the bounds of peaceful picketing.

Fourth, I recommend that we accept the full responsibility of our fellow citizens less fortunate than ourselves. We have been giving away tax money by the ton to every nation in the world as a means to combat communism. We had better start giving less to them and more to our own to combat that threat from within. Let the law reflect that we will take care of our own by eradicating slums in poverty-stricken areas, the breeding ground for communism.

Fifth, I recommend that law enforcement officials at all levels redouble their efforts to keep the peace. We owe them the fullest measure of our support, for their failure will shift the responsibility of our own protection to ourselves. If this occurs, a riot will have turned into armed revolution. I recommend that the laws be obeyed, not some of the time but all of the time; and I recommend that they be obeyed by all of the people—the unemployed, those living in ghettos or slums. Those who want their rights and those who have them, white people and black people.

Lastly, to the vast majority of our citizens who have faith in the protection of the law, I give to you this word of comfort, and to those who would take the law into their own hands—the rioters, looters and arsonists—I give to you this warning. You have already been promised by our Mayor-President, the Honorable Woody Dumas, that if caught in such activity you will be shot. The Sheriff of the Parish of East Baton Rouge, the Honorable Bryan Clemmons, and the Chief of Police of the City of Baton Rouge, the Honorable Eddie Bauer, have dedicated themselves to keep the peace at the cost of your life if necessary. The District Attorney, the Honorable Sargent Pitcher, has dedicated himself to prosecute you to the fullest extent of the law, and I, Fred A. Blanche, Jr., as one of the judges of this Honorable Nineteenth Judicial District Court, will promise you the justice which you deserve and will punish you to the fullest extent of the law. To make such a promise is not to prejudge the case. The evidence has been previously submitted by the rioters in the cities of Washington, Cambridge, Philadelphia, Detroit, Newark, Chicago, and others.

The destruction of property and the loss of lives have been observed. The suffering and shame have likewise made their marks in history to our everlasting regret. A government of laws has been challenged. Now, how can we meet it? We can meet it by working together to build a better society with a lawful society that cherishes and respects the lawful rights of all.

STEEL IMPORT CRISIS

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of the Members of the House to an editorial of the St. Louis Globe Democrat on Tuesday, May 14, 1968, which points up the very serious plight of the steel industry in this Nation.

Although I am a firm believer in the principles of free trade, I also believe that trade is a two-way street. Our

markets are freely open to many countries today which do not give America the same treatment. It is not reasonable to expect the steel industry to compete with Japan when our hourly wages are \$4.65 as compared with Japan's hourly wage of \$1.10. There are many other industries in the same position, and this Congress should waste no time in giving at least temporary relief in order to avoid disaster. Under unanimous consent I insert my remarks in the RECORD and include the Globe editorial:

STEEL IMPORT CRISIS

Action must be taken soon to head off a crisis in the steel industry—the flooding of American markets by foreign steel.

Unless something is done, there could be a heavy wave of layoffs in the steel industry by this fall.

Steel imports are grabbing an alarming percentage of the United States market. From 1964 to 1966 foreign steel makers had about 9.6 percent of the total steel sales. Last year the percentage jumped up to 12.5 percent. In 1968 it appears it will be more than 14 percent.

In 1967 a record 11,500,000 tons of foreign steel came into the United States at the Detroit port of entry alone. This represented a loss of 85,000 job opportunities to American workers.

Locally the influx of foreign steel cost the Granite City Steel Company 600 jobs last year. Salaries and benefits of almost \$6,000,000 were lost to Granite City employees.

Steel production in this country remains high only because buyers are increasing inventories in anticipation of a possible steel strike, masking the crisis that can come if the strike is avoided or is of short duration.

What most people don't know is that United States steel production has fallen from 61 percent of the world output in 1945 to 26 percent in 1966.

Just 10 years ago our country was the world's largest steel exporter. Today it is the largest importer.

Not to be overlooked is the effect the export-import reversal has had on the critical international payments problem. In 1967 it resulted in a net balance of \$1.1 billion of American dollars going out of the country to buy foreign steel. This was almost a third of the total payments deficit.

The basis of the problem is that the world steel industry has a huge surplus capacity. The United States has become a dumping ground for much of this excess. Studies show great amounts of steel coming from Europe are being sold in this country at cost or below.

United States technology is making vast strides in automating steel mills, but it hasn't been able to completely offset the differences in wages. A steel worker in Japan is paid only \$1.10 an hour, for example, as compared to \$4.65 for his American opposite number.

There appears only one answer in the immediate years ahead. That is for Congress to support legislation that would limit steel imports to the percentage of the United States market they had between the years from 1964 to 1966—about 10 percent.

This would still give foreign steel makers a big share of the American market, but it would stop the dumping of overseas steel in this country at cost, or below, merely to get rid of excess production.

This should be only a short-run solution until such time as further technological advances and higher wages abroad could restore our competitive position.

Further to delay action could risk a sharp recession in the steel industry, perhaps in a matter of months. Steel imports literally are gobbling up thousands of American jobs every day.

ST. OLAF COLLEGE, NORTHFIELD,
MINN.

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, a number of universities have experienced disorders in the past few weeks. And within the past month nearly every major city in the country has had some type of civil disturbance. Whether in a university community or a big-city ghetto, the disturbances seem to arise from a sense of frustration at the unresponsiveness of an administration or a governing body.

I am happy to report that one college in my State, St. Olaf College, in Northfield, Minn., has exhibited commendable responses. Sixty-nine percent of the St. Olaf students agreed to give up 3 days of meals, the proceeds to be used for improving relations between blacks and whites. Their action inspired a member of the board of regents to donate \$50,000 to endow scholarships for Negro students at St. Olaf. It also prompted the faculty to initiate a program of job training in cooperation with such industries as Control Data. Fifty faculty members pledged \$250 each for this program.

Individual actions cannot provide all the help needed for the poor, the jobless, and the poorly educated. But they are an indication that people do care, that they can be responsive, and that the frustration which breeds disorder can be avoided.

FAIR INTERNATIONAL TRADE BILL

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I am joining in the introduction of the fair international trade bill as introduced recently by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. HERLONG].

This bill marks a shift away from rigid protection of domestic industry by recognizing the claim of foreign countries to a fair share of our market. The bill is designed to establish a ceiling over imports while permitting them to participate proportionately in the domestic consumption of any product made subject to a ceiling.

Mr. Speaker, this appears to me to be a very fair approach to the import problem. What is intended and what the bill would accomplish is market participation by imports on an orderly basis rather than their running wild and causing market disruption for our own producers.

In too many instances in recent years imports have started at a moderate level and raced upward, each successive year capturing a rising share of the market. Not only did this rapid upward trend upset the domestic industry; it cast a pall over investment prospects and chilled all plans for expanding production. It brought great pressure to bear on industry to automate, which is to say, to re-

duce employment by broad-scale worker displacement as a means of warding off yet greater floods of imports.

The result, as in the cotton textile industry before the long-term arrangement went into effect, was declining employment, low profits, retrenchment, and stagnation.

Only after the countries shipping to this country agreed to restrict their exports did the cotton textile industry show improvement. Profits rose to a more attractive level, investments climbed sharply, helped by lower taxes through investment credit and accelerated depreciation, and production and employment rose. Yet imports actually increased, in fact, virtually doubled in 5 or 6 years.

Thus was demonstrated the efficacy of sensible import restraints. There can be little question that if cotton textile imports had not been restricted the principal industry of the southeastern part of the United States would have been ruined.

Yet, it was not necessary to stop imports or to hold them at a specified yardage of cloth. They were allowed to grow. True, they were getting out of hand a year ago because of lax compliance; but the principle of live and let live was demonstrated as a superior approach, both to extreme restriction and rampant invasion of the market by low-cost textiles.

The approach represented by the fair international trade bill has precisely these merits: it is not restrictive except of wild import expansion, and it recognizes the claim of imports to a fair share of the market.

This is better by far than a tariff for at least two reasons:

First. A tariff that would moderate imports from the European countries would leave our market wide open to import from Japan, Hong Kong, and other low-wage areas.

Second. A tariff high enough to restrict or moderate imports from the Orient would exclude most imports from Europe.

Mr. Speaker, I am well aware that in order to export we must import. We all know that to be a self-evident truth; but it does not follow that we must lay our industries open to highly destructive imports. The United States is in fact a better market for imports when it is in a prosperous state. It does not make a good market when some of our major industries are driven to stagnation by unrestricted imports that undersell our own producers.

In recent years our imports of manufactured products have been rising very rapidly. In the textile industry imports of woolen goods have severely disturbed our domestic manufacturers. Imports of steel have risen to an 11- to 12-percent penetration of our market for steel products. We were long exporters of steel on balance. In the past 10 years we have fallen far behind with our exports while imports have risen several fold. In the case of typewriters, sewing machines, and consumer electronics we have been badly trounced; and the trend continues. Our footwear market is being inundated by imports. Numerous other lines of goods are feeling the impact.

There is no valid objection to a rise in imports if the increase is moderate and predictable; and the most important of these is predictability. Predictability is essential to a healthy investment climate. Otherwise investment seeks foreign outlets in preference to the domestic.

Should the industrial activity attributable to our involvement in Vietnam slacken we would find ourselves desperately beset by imports of a growing variety. Our tariffs are already so low that we need expect nothing else. A mere retardation of the Kennedy round such as is offered by some European countries, allowing us to postpone our cuts, while they accelerate their own tariff reductions on our exports, would mean very little. Our present level of tariff is very low and sufficiently low already to offer little restraint to imports. Minor foreign tariff reductions, such as would be involved in the European offer, would cause hardly a ripple.

We have indeed all but abandoned the tariff as a means of regulating imports; but the problem to which the tariff was addressed is still with us. Setting aside a reasonable share of our market through import ceilings offers the most suitable substitute.

Absolute quotas on a variety of products individually arranged, product by product, have been suggested; and it may come to that. However, the approach embodied in the fair international trade bill would be open to all industries on an equal footing and would also be more moderate and yet effective. The bill would not disturb existing quotas.

I hope that many other Members will join in the introduction of this legislation and give it their full support. I trust that hearings will be held by the Ways and Means Committee at an early date. This legislation should stand high on our legislative calendar.

DOMESTIC PROGRAMS STRAINED BY VIETNAM WAR

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, some Members of Congress are gravely concerned with the severe strains placed on our domestic programs by the Vietnam war. Moneys which we have voted for those programs are held in reserve while the external conflict goes on.

The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, in the Department of the Interior, has almost \$11 million frozen in a reserve fund. That money was to have been used for construction projects in 12 States plus the District of Columbia. That is the effect of program reduction in fiscal year 1968.

So that other Senators may have the benefit of the breakdown of these figures, I ask unanimous consent that a table on this subject be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUREAU OF SPORT FISHERIES AND WILDLIFE—EFFECT OF PROGRAM REDUCTION, FISCAL YEAR 1968

Appropriation item	State and congressional district	Reserve
Construction:		
Blackbird Research Laboratory.....	Ohio, 5th.....	\$45,000
Wolf Creek fish hatchery.....	Kentucky, 5th.....	138,000
Willow Beach fish hatchery.....	Arizona, 3d.....	135,000
Valley City fish hatchery.....	North Dakota, 1st.....	90,000
Panama City Fishery Research Laboratory.....	Florida, 1st.....	160,000
Eastern Fish Nutrition Laboratory.....	New York, 35th.....	40,000
Port Aransas Fishery Research Laboratory.....	Texas, 14th.....	170,000
Okefenokee Refuge.....	Georgia, 8th.....	297,000
WPA development.....	South Dakota 1.....	204,000
Chautauqua Refuge.....	Illinois, 8th.....	74,000
UL Bend Refuge.....	Montana, 2d.....	63,000
Wichita Mountains Refuge.....	Oklahoma, 6th.....	245,000
National Fisheries Center and Aquarium.....	District of Columbia.....	9,175,000
Total.....		10,836,000

¹ Located in several States and/or congressional districts.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, continuing with the Department of the Interior, I find that the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration has frozen funds totaling nearly \$32 million. I ask unani-

mous consent that the table listing those funds and their intended use be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ADMINISTRATION BUREAU—EFFECT OF PROGRAM REDUCTION, FISCAL YEAR 1968

Appropriation item	State and congressional district	Reserve
Buildings and facilities:		
National Marine Water Quality Research Laboratory.....	Rhode Island, 2d.....	\$1,733,000
Great Lakes Regional Laboratory.....	Michigan, 2d.....	2,543,242
Water pollution control laboratory.....	Boston, Mass. (location not yet specified).....	2,582,829
Planning of water pollution control laboratory.....	Vicksburg-Jackson, Miss. (location not yet specified).....	160,000
Acid mine drainage field demonstration activity.....	Various in Appalachian region.....	1,274,000
Total, buildings and facilities.....		8,293,071
Construction grants for waste treatment works.....	Various, not specified.....	23,438,000
Total.....		31,731,000

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, these tables are not intended to be all inclusive. From time to time, I shall place in the RECORD additional figures identifying reserve funds frozen in other bureaus within the Department of the Interior. What I have listed today is merely a beginning—something for all of us to think about—as we worry about the unfortunate effect the war in Vietnam is having on domestic programs.

PUBLIC LAW 480

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 15693 was passed by this body by a vote of 345 to 42. This bill principally extended titles I and II of Public Law 480 for 1 more year. This program was first promulgated and passed by the 83d Congress as a method of implementing the farm program by expanding foreign markets and thus alleviating our then bulging farm surplus problems. It also allowed us the humanitarian opportunity of feeding millions of hungry people overseas. Such a program would help to equate supply with demand. In general, it has been successful in accomplishing some progress toward these worthy goals.

However, proper administration is sorely needed if it is to be fully effective and helpful to domestic food producers. Violent swings and lack of continuity of sales under Public Law 480 create a very severe blow to the building of stable overseas markets, or to the planning by American farmers. Proper administration would help to prevent such violent fluctuations. I refer specifically to the case of dairy products, and submit the following table, at the close of my remarks, to fully document my contention. Public Law 480 sales are listed herein under the column of noncommercial sales.

The irony of this situation is the fact that it was necessary to appeal to both the President and the Secretary of Agriculture last year to have amendments made in the tariffs for dairy products in order to provide some protection for the dairy producers in America.

As you will note, we exported almost eight times the amount of imports in 1964—while in 1965, the ratio dropped to 2 to 1. But the crushing blow is the sorry picture in 1966 and 1967, when imports exceeded exports each year by over 2 billion pounds. The table follows:

[Millions of pounds]

Year	Exports			Imports
	Commercial	Noncommercial	Total	
1964----	370	6,504	6,874	830
1965----	417	1,422	1,839	918
1966----	780	0	780	2,775
1967----	354	10	364	2,855

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT HELP FOR RETARDED CHILDREN NARRATED BY MARY JANE BODE

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, under title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, innovative and exemplary programs shaping the education spectrum are in progress across the Nation. One of these, for retarded children at the Austin State School, in Austin, Tex., is chronicled in an interesting and informative article written by Mary Jane Bode and published in the May 1968 issue of "American Education," the official magazine of the U.S. Office of Education.

Entitled, "You Are My Sunshine," the article successfully conveys the progress made possible through title III.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD. There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOU ARE MY SUNSHINE: THIS PLAYGROUND IS MORE THAN PLAY FOR THE HANDICAPPED AT TEXAS' AUSTIN STATE SCHOOL

(By Mary Jane Bode)

"Come on, Harold! Come on!" While teachers and schoolmates shout encouragement, the big shouldered boy runs as fast as his short legs can carry him. It's a funny run, like a goose-stepping soldier trying desperately to get in step, like the run of someone who was learning for the second time.

But Harold never learned to run a first time. He is one of more than 2,400 mentally retarded residents of the Austin State School in Austin, Tex. His mental age hangs far below his 13 years, and he is in a group designated "profoundly retarded."

Harold's lone competitor in the foot race suddenly leaves the dirt track and saunters over to examine the miniature castle on the obstacle course. "Come on, Bryan," his supporters urge. But their cheers do not penetrate his consciousness.

A young teacher runs up to him, grabs his hand and, smiling and shouting, runs with him, though she does not mention that Harold has already passed the finish line.

The race, the teachers, and the castle are all part of a project formidably titled, "Functional Concepts in Physical Education Programs for Retardates," funded by a grant under title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Now in its second year, the project was designed to develop physical education programs and functional playground equipment for retardates. Already it is changing the behavior patterns of many children at Austin State School.

Stanley, one of the smaller boys yelling loudly if somewhat incoherently for Harold, is seven years old. "He started talking when he entered this program. He had never talked before," said project director Guy M. Owen, a tall, yellow-haired, 27-year-old physical education instructor who joined the project while working on a doctorate at the University of Texas.

"A lot of people thought you couldn't try competition among retardates," Owen continued. "The fact is they like it. They respond to it beautifully."

A short distance up the rolling grounds from the race was a long-time resident of the school, a fellow in his midtwenties. He was singing the same verse of "You Are My

Sunshine" over and over, pausing each time to smile as though to audience approval. Two other boys walked close by, but the singer paid them no notice.

"They all used to act autistic," Owen said. "At first, there was no group involvement at all. Once they start moving into the group, we can begin to work with them."

The project has also given the campus a facelifting. Drab tool sheds and corrugated outbuildings have been transformed by the teachers into orange, green, red, and blue eyecatchers, decorated with cowboys and broncos, monkeys at play, and giant paper dolls. In the southeast corner of the 2.5-acre boys' playground is an area that resembles an amusement park. This is the obstacle course, where the children may enter an igloo and climb out its top, run inside a castle, and up and around its balcony and down; scoot over an elephant ramp and across a pig's bridge, and then scramble up a ladder and slide down a slide.

Closer to the dormitories are the rope-climbing and overhead-ladder equipment, the three-level bar hurdle, barrels, and a log obstacle course. Adjacent to that is a 3,000-square-foot multiple court area for relay games, volley ball, deck tennis, and hopscotch. A short, hard-surfaced running track was laid out diagonally to two sandpits so the boys can broad jump from any direction they care to run. (Owen is a realist.)

The swimming area consists of a three-foot-deep pool and a wading pool, separated by a wide concrete slab. There is also a shower pool—a shallow pool of long, rambling, free-form design with shower towers rising from it like giant mushrooms. It was built apart from the playground and adjacent to a dormitory for profoundly retarded children. School physicians certify children for the swimming program separately from their physical education program approvals.

"Swimming is very good for the physically handicapped," Owen said. "We're thinking of building a rolling apparatus to get the cerebral palsied to the shower pool."

Watching and hearing the laughter and healthy excitement of the footrace between Harold and Bryan, one would find it hard to believe that not too many years ago the only sounds heard at Austin State were screams and cries of anguish.

The school, which opened 50 years ago, has always been considered progressive. But "progressive" is a relative term. There had never been sufficient funds or staff to allow any real effort in physical education. "Most of these children never knew how to move before," Owen said. "They didn't know how to use their bodies."

Now the Federal grant is helping change all that. With a first-year budget of \$100,960 the staff was made up mostly of part-time workers: Six special education undergraduates and six physical education undergraduates as teachers, two graduate students handling curriculum and program, two vocational rehabilitation technicians, two architectural engineers, and two secretaries. Full-time help consisted of a maintenance man and Owen.

It is unusual for title III ESEA funds to be used for construction. Approval was given in this case inasmuch as building the simple equipment was basic to the innovative idea. Less than 20 percent of the first-year budget went for construction; the staff added the imagination and elbow grease needed to turn what was once a dreary pasture into a mini-Disneyland.

The project crew has been working with 400 children, with another 1,000 waiting in the wings. "We're holding these until we know what we really want," Owen said.

The retardates range in age from six to 60. They are divided into four adaptive levels: profoundly retarded, trainable, highly trainable, and educable. Most are trainable.

The first students enrolled in the outdoor program were ambulatory boys, most of them between ages six and 13. Their IQ's fell between 20 and 50. At first they were brought out in groups of eight with two teachers. After a month, one teacher could work with 12 or 14 children.

The groups are scheduled for 40-minute periods, five days a week. "Pick a time, any time of the day," Owen said, "and you'll find them out here."

Getting them out is one of the biggest problems. Owen and his supervisors have to schedule classes according to their part-time teachers' class times, and they have to take students at times convenient to the dormitory attendants and school staff. With the profoundly retarded groups, the student teachers have to join the dormitory "who's got the shoes" scramble before they can even begin the physical education period.

"These children just won't keep their shoes on," laughed instructor Dick Smith, who majors in physical education at the University of Texas when he's not playing professional baseball with the Atlanta Braves' organization. "They take off their shoes, and get them mixed up with the other kids' shoes, and then we have to match shoes and get the right pair on the right boy."

Two teachers led a group of boys out to the fairyland obstacle course. As they all took off in their own running patterns, the boys followed teachers for a time, then teachers followed the boys.

One teacher stopped to discourage a very little boy, about six, from taking punches at someone twice his size.

On the four-square court, a boy sat pulling grass up blade by blade while his group members learned to jump.

"What we're trying to do," Owen said, "is provide an area in which they can develop. We teach the basic movements: walking, jumping, skipping, galloping, walking on toes, leaping. And all the equipment is designed to teach them how to use these movements."

"It's wonderful to watch them learn to use their bodies," he went on. "And when they learn to run, they find it so exhilarating. You know how a toddler acts when he first discovers he can run. He runs and runs every chance he can get."

"A normal child learns many things on his own that a retarded child has to be taught. But because the retardates have the same desires and needs as other children, we found it good strategy to approach this program from a normal child angle."

"They're happier than the average child. They're very loyal. They'll learn your name and call you by name every time they see you. I'm trying to impress the teachers with the importance of responding to this. At any age, a person needs to feel he's accomplishing something."

The teachers work hard with their charges, and the children respond warmly to their encouragement. The student teachers have contributed many good, sound ideas to the project.

Owen and his supervisors use Fridays to evaluate students and teachers, because a continuing evaluation program is considered essential. Every four months, two weeks are devoted to inservice training and discussion.

Owen is also planning a training program for about 250 State school attendants. Already some dorm helpers, who are in the group of highly trainable retardates, are doing workouts with the boys. But the hired attendants will have to be educated to the idea.

"It will be good for the attendants as well as the children," says Owen. "It will fill in a lot of the void of just being in dorms, and make attendants and children happier."

An \$11,600 portion of the \$69,771 second year project budget is earmarked for construction of a women's playground. Second year plans also call for 18 undergraduate

teachers, two half-time construction workers, one architectural engineer, two supervisors, and Owen. And the project has a gift: a Volunteer to America, Elsa Ruiz of La Plata, Argentina, who is teaching deaf retardates and assisting the State school projects by testing Spanish-speaking children.

The women's recreation grounds is a scenic area shaded by stately trees, but play equipment is scarce and in need of repair. A leaf-swamped swimming pool obviously hasn't been used for years.

"It can't be fixed for swimming," Owen said sadly, "but we hope to fix it up for roller skating and volley ball."

Most of the female students are adult, so Owen started thinking of their physical education program along more adult lines. He came up with the idea of a hiking trail, leading from the boys playground, to the women's area and then almost to the northernmost point of the campus—nearly a mile walk.

The older women are working on a fitness program. "They were really out of shape," Owen observed. "But we started the Royal Canadian Air Force program and they were real receptive."

Owen mentioned that teachers were astonished to find that the routine of the RCAF exercise program, which is difficult for many normal people to follow without a book, was memorized quickly by some of the retardates.

An evening program is also in progress for groups of adult male residents, many of whom work in jobs in cafeterias, stores, and schools in the city during the day. Owen is trying to make that program enjoyable as well as beneficial by introducing croquet and golf. Every working person knows it's difficult to get enthusiastic about exercise after a hard day.

"After the older students get along in their programs," Owen said, "we hope to take them to the city park for a hike and a wiener roast as a motivating factor."

The staff is making a photographic history of the project effort. A darkroom has been added to the project office, and members develop black and white photos and slides of significant events.

"We're working on motor development, physical fitness, and the development of sports skills," Owen said, "and we hope to hit on a few other things, such as social and personality development. We're trying to decide on the types of activities that need to be taught to achieve these goals, and hope we can make sound decisions so that all schools can use this information."

One of the group's chief ambitions is to reach the very young retardates (the earliest enrollment age is usually six) who can qualify medically for physical education. Haunted by the sight of grown retardates struggling to learn basic body movements, Owen said, "We think the retarded need to be provided with this equipment and education at an early age, so they can use their bodies."

WHAT SURTAX MEANS TO YOU

(By Sylvia Porter)

Assume the 10 percent surtax on individual incomes retroactive to April 1 finally becomes law. This would mean an effective surtax rate in calendar 1968 of 7½ percent. How would this affect you, a married taxpayer filing a joint return?

If your income after all deductions and exemptions in calendar 1968 comes to around \$8,000, it would mean an income tax increase of about \$103.50 this year, which would average out over a full 52 weeks to just under \$2 a week.

If your income after all deductions and exemptions this calendar year comes to around \$16,000, it would mean an income tax increase of about \$244.50, which would average out over a full 52 weeks to about \$4.70 a week.

Only if your taxable income is in the \$44,000 range, would your tax increase for calendar 1968 mound into the four figures. The total would be \$1,054.50 or a bit more than \$20 a week.

IMPACT MODERATE

This, mind you, is a surtax. You do not figure it as a regular 7½ percent tax on your 1968 taxable income (income after all deductions and exemptions). You do figure it as a 7½ tax on the tax you report that you owe on your 1968 income.

The essence of this is that the tax surcharge will have a more modest impact on your family financial position than many now believe. Admittedly, in the lower income brackets, even a tax rise of \$1 a week is very important and in fact the House-Senate conference committee acknowledges this by exempting from the surtax millions of married taxpayers reporting less than \$3,000.

But in the higher income brackets, the impact will be moderate. Even the married taxpayer with \$100,000 of income this year will pay only \$3,388.50 more, equal to about \$65 a week.

IMPLICATION BASIC

Over and beyond the specific dollars-and-cents meaning to you, this surtax will have basic implications.

First, it will help moderate the demand for goods and services and, by so doing, mark the first step back from inflationary price increases and toward reasonable price stability.

Second, the tax increase, plus spending cuts, will be a clear signal to our foreign creditors of U.S. fiscal responsibility and thus will help increase confidence in our dollar's integrity.

Third, the move will help curb today's interest rate up-spiral. There may be no major or quick easing of interest rates but the threat of an intolerable money squeeze will be off.

These fiscal steps will cool the fever in our economy but not put us through the wringer. They represent a belated financial acknowledgement that we have long been fighting a military war.

Here's a table, prepared for me by the Research Institute of America, against which you can match yourself to see how you would make out.

Taxable income	Tax today	7½ percent surtax	Total 1968 tax
\$4,000	\$620	\$46.50	\$666.50
8,000	1,380	103.50	1,483.50
12,000	2,260	169.50	2,429.50
16,000	3,260	244.50	3,504.50
20,000	4,380	328.50	4,708.50
24,000	5,660	424.50	6,084.50
28,000	7,100	532.50	7,632.50
32,000	8,660	649.50	9,309.50
36,000	10,340	775.50	11,115.50
40,000	12,140	910.50	13,050.50
44,000	14,060	1,054.50	15,114.50
52,000	18,060	1,354.50	19,414.50
64,000	24,420	1,831.50	26,251.50
76,000	31,020	2,326.50	33,346.50
88,000	37,980	2,848.50	40,828.50
100,000	45,180	3,388.50	48,568.50
200,000	110,980	8,323.50	119,303.50

WHAT SURTAX MEANS TO YOU

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Sunday Star this past Sunday published an article by Sylvia Porter on the proposed 10-percent surtax. This article very clearly and simply outlines what the surtax will mean to us as individuals. For the benefit of my colleagues, I am inserting the article in the RECORD at this point:

HANDICAPPED WORKERS OF AMERICA

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, there is a segment in our working force today whose capabilities are great and who are deserving of greater recognition of their achievements. They are the handicapped workers of America. It is important that all of us take note of the potential and abilities of the handicapped person to compete favorably with employees unincumbered by physical disabilities.

Recently it has come to my attention that members of each age group have become aware of the needs and capacities of the handicapped worker. A good example of this is a well-written essay from a talented young constituent, Miss Nancy Sutherland, of Michigan City, Ind. Miss Sutherland has pointed out some of the challenges being met by our handicapped citizens today.

I ask unanimous consent that Miss Sutherland's essay be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHALLENGE OF EMPLOYMENT BARRIERS TO THE HANDICAPPED—A COMMUNITY SURVEY
(By Nancy Sutherland)

John Doe, the average American, was born of parents with an average income and inherited average intelligence. He went through grade school, high school, and part of college. He married an average girl and they had three children. He will work at his average job until he retires between the ages of 60 and 65. Chances are you can identify with this person. However, there are Americans who were born of parents with an average income and who inherited average intelligence but are unable to work at an average job—because of a handicap.

In the United States, there are over a half-million people who are classified as physically handicapped.¹ What types of impairments does the term handicapped include?

The dictionary defines the word handicapped as "something that hinders or disadvantages a person." In previous years polio was the disease which resulted in the largest number of handicaps. Since the discovery of the polio vaccine however, this crippling disease has become almost extinct. For example, out of the approximately 12,000 students presently enrolled in Michigan City Area Schools, there is one case of post-polio paralysis. Specialists now attribute the majority of handicaps to four diseases: cerebral palsy, rheumatic fever, epilepsy, and muscular dystrophy. The remaining afflictions are the result of either accidents or congenital malformations. Deafness and blindness are also classified as physical handicaps.²

Cures for these diseases are yet to be found, but through the work of such organizations as Easter Seal and the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults control measures have been discovered. Epileptic seizures can be controlled by drugs; rheumatic fever can be controlled by hormones. Physical therapy and training in muscle control can help victims of cerebral palsy

and muscular dystrophy. The number of congenital malformations can be decreased, if not completely erased, by better care of women during pregnancy.

With the aid of control measures, it has become possible to educate two-thirds of handicapped children in the United States in regular day school classes.³ At the present time, the special education program in Michigan City involves 123 students. The main reason for the small number of students is the lack of qualified instructors in our area.⁴ The grade school children who are severely handicapped attend the Therapy Center; the others go to school at Knapp Elementary School. A special bus with a hydraulic lift provides transportation for the students. In addition Michigan City schools have a school-home program by which bedridden or hospitalized students are able to "attend" classes through an intercom.⁵

In the education of handicapped children, the instructor's aim is to teach the child to become an independent, self-supporting citizen, rather than to stress academics as in average schools. Thus, vocational training is very important.⁶

In Michigan City vocational training of handicapped students begins in high school. The students have one-half day of classroom work and one-half day of on-the-job training. After graduating from high school, Mr. Newman who is Michigan City's special education instructor on the secondary level, helps the graduates get jobs. Frequently they are employed where they received their vocational training.

When applying for jobs, handicapped people face barriers which do not affect the physically fit. Many employers ask these questions before hiring the handicapped. Is their motivation below normal because of their psychological feeling of inferiority? Is their production rate below normal due to their physical impairment? Are they a safety risk; do they affect company insurance? The answer to all these questions is "No!"

Actually, motivation of handicapped workers is usually above average because they appreciate an opportunity to work. In a survey conducted by The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped it was proven that the production rate of handicapped workers is one percent better than the production of unimpaired workers. Also, the percentage of on-the-job injuries was less among handicapped employees than among unimpaired employees.⁷

Several business concerns in Michigan City indicated that their handicapped workers were an asset to their companies. They work hard, they are rarely absent and they are always on time. In addition, handicapped employees do not raise insurance rates. Bill Paul, who is the Personnel Director of Joy Manufacturing Company in Michigan City, confirmed this by saying, "Group insurance rates are set by the number of employees and have nothing to do with the type of employees."

Moreover, handicapped employees usually have very good morale. This is evidenced by Mrs. Story, a bookkeeper employed by Audio Industries Incorporated in Michigan City, who views her handicap as follows: "I am handicapped myself and I have found that it has helped me drive ahead rather than deterred me."

Mrs. Story is one of over a hundred handicapped persons employed by eleven major manufacturing firms in Michigan City. Out of the twenty-four major business concerns

¹ Romaine P. Mackle, *Education of Crippled Children in the United States*, p. 3.

² Richard Surber, Director of Special Education for Michigan City Area Schools.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Richard Surber.

⁵ Ray G. Fugal, *The Plus Factors of Hiring the Handicapped*.

in the Michigan City area, these eleven represent the only concerns which presently have handicapped employees. In addition, six companies have indicated their willingness to hire the handicapped. The seven remaining concerns either gave ambiguous, evasive reasons or no reasons at all for their refusal to hire the handicapped.

These statistics show that Michigan City is making considerable headway in dissolving the employment barriers to the handicapped. There is also work being done to dissolve other types of barriers affecting the handicapped. There is a sheltered workshop program in the planning stage which will employ severely handicapped people at a loss for the sole reason of employing them. Environmental barriers are being somewhat dissolved with the building of the new junior high schools and the high school being planned which have no steps.

But much remains to be done. Educating the public on the capabilities of the handicapped is the primary area remaining to be dealt with. There is also a tremendous need for teachers and funds in order to fully develop the potential of the handicapped. Buildings and transportation facilities should be made accessible to the handicapped. Ramps should be installed along with stairways and doors should be made wider.

The Declaration of Independence entitles United States citizens to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Happiness for a handicapped person is following his vocational goals without educational and employment barriers to restrain him. Doesn't the Declaration of Independence apply to all United States citizens?

THE NERVA PROGRAM

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed appropriate to review the posture of the NERVA program in light of the enormous needs and commitments currently being shouldered by the citizens of our country. We must consider fully the alternatives available to us in making our determinations, and, in the years to come, we must be proud of the choices we make today.

The NERVA program has been a topic of discussion before congressional committees currently reviewing the NASA budget request. Some people have questioned the justification for it; have said that no mission requirement currently exists for it; and that the so-called "cost/benefit" requirements have not been met.

What seems to be the problem here is to put the NERVA program in proper perspective in relation to the other needs before us—to establish the priorities, if you prefer.

The Vietnam war currently absorbs most of our attention and a good portion of our available funds. We have unrest in the ghettos which we are endeavoring to eliminate. We have disorder and lawlessness in the streets which is of grave concern to us all. We have civil rights problems to resolve. We are having difficulties with our balance of payments, and these have recently placed us under the shadow of a gold crisis and led the President to announce an austerity drive.

And yet, even with all these problems before us, we are experiencing the lowest unemployment and highest income levels in the history of our Nation. At times, all this is very difficult to comprehend.

In addressing ourselves to the national space program, during the past 2 years in particular, we have questioned and taken exception to some of the ambitious programs being sought by NASA. We have criticized some of the ways NASA has managed itself and some of its contractors. Criticism has been levied at NASA's alleged lack of future planning. We are obligated, therefore, to put the NERVA program in its proper perspective.

The growth of any nation, the posture of any nation, is directly related to its aggressive exploitations of new endeavors. Our fathers and forefathers exploited the industrial revolution that made it possible for our Nation to grow as strong and as fast as it did. Under our free-enterprise system, an aggressive people developed mass production techniques, without which we might have not achieved the successful outcome of World War II, or the high employment and incomes we currently enjoy.

For example, consider the history of the airplane in this country. We did not heed the warnings of the Billy Mitchells, the Charles Lindbergs, and other later-to-be distinguished citizens; and, even though the Wright brothers got us started, we were not willing to accept the challenge to exploit the airplane before World War II. Had it not been for our industrial team, with its mass-production capability, which we did exploit, we might well have been unable to achieve that successful end to the war in Europe. If we had not, the Nazi enemy would have had the necessary time to more fully exploit the jet aircraft, which he already had in combat. Just consider, for a moment, the disastrous implications.

The Nation did not accept the challenge to exploit rocketry, which was literally handed to us by Dr. Robert Goddard. This was a "childish scientist" playing with "useless toys." And, when we did recognize the usefulness of rockets, our allies had already suffered, and our postwar potential enemies had scared us to death.

From our experiences in catching up with the airplane, the jet aircraft, rocket propulsion, and, just 10 years ago, space exploration, we learned that the costs far exceeded what should have been necessary—or, at least, we should have learned. This truth is especially clear when we consider how hindsight has always taught us that the exploitation of such new environments and endeavors always forms the basis of our strength in the world, whether it be of a peaceful or military nature.

Although our Nation was the first to harness nuclear energy, history has since revealed to us that Dr. Otto Hahn and his fellow German scientists at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin were right behind us. Had Hitler's regime fully understood the nature of the military potential which Dr. Hahn and his colleagues presented to them, we might not

be discussing the NERVA program here today—unless we spoke German.

Fortunately, being mindful of our past, our great scientists, supported by some of our esteemed congressional colleagues, convinced the President and the people of our Nation that we must turn away from our complete involvement in weapons and exploit the peaceful uses of this vast source of energy. As a result, nuclear central-station powerplants are becoming more commonplace every year. Not only is nuclear power playing a fast-growing role in supplying our electrical power, but, based on our projected future needs, it is only by continued exploitation of this energy source that we will be able to meet these demands.

We have successfully been exploiting the use of this energy for our Navy's ships at sea, and have yet to exploit it for our maritime fleet. The progress in much of our medical research has been a result of our exploitation of this energy. Many other examples could be cited.

In the belief that all potential uses of nuclear energy must be aggressively and intelligently pursued to maintain our Nation's supremacy in this field, and in order to strengthen our worldwide posture, the Atomic Energy Commission, supported by Congress, initiated the nuclear rocket program in the 1950's to investigate use of the atom for adaptation to rocket propulsion.

The Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory was given the task of establishing the basic scientific feasibility of the nuclear rocket. The efforts of this highly specialized scientific team produced success. In 1960, the AEC and NASA joined together to establish the utility of the nuclear rocket in space exploration. This effort was heartily supported by the Congress.

From testimony presented before both the House and Senate committees, we have heard that outstanding and remarkable technical accomplishments have been achieved by the Government-industry team given the task to exploit this use of atomic energy.

Just last December, a NERVA test run was conducted that lasted for 1 full hour of continuous, full-power operation—and which could have run much longer if it had been so planned and scheduled. This achievement in testing a primary rocket propulsion device is the most outstanding accomplishment in rocket history in our Nation or in the free world. Remembering that this program was also questioned last year, it is obvious that the feat of last December was accomplished only because Congress made the right choice last year. No other primary rocket propulsion device, either in development or in operation, has ever been operated for more than 20 minutes of continuous operation. And furthermore, this demonstration, which lasted three times longer than that of any other primary propulsion rocket known to us, also was producing rocket performance more than twice that of any existing high-performance rocket known to man. Needless to say, to date, Congress and the Nation have received full value for past confidence and investment. The so-called "cost-benefit" measurement has been satisfied well beyond normal expect-

tation in the NERVA program and this program should most certainly be continued at no less than its planned level.

During this past year, we and NASA have reassessed our ambitious space explorations program because of other pressing needs. As we all know, it has not been our intent to discontinue exploitation of this new environment, but only to balance it with our total needs and desires. As General Schriever recently commented:

The exception has been found, it appears, to the rule "nothing succeeds like success"—the exception—the American space program.

He was, of course, referring to the 500 successful launches and almost 2,000 hours of manned space flight. And he further stated:

It might be good for us, in this moment of indecision over our national space program, to remind ourselves that pioneering and discouragement go hand in hand.

However, in the particular case before us, we must keep in mind that we are discussing propulsion—the means by which man is able to conquer, to explore, and to exploit new endeavors on the earth, under the sea, in the air, or in space—a means that predestines the posture of a nation, as well as man's progress.

In light of the overall space program reassessment, the AEC and NASA have reported that they have accordingly realigned the NERVA program. Instead of pursuing the flight development of a very large nuclear rocket for use in manned planetary exploration, as discussed before the Congress early last year, they are now oriented toward the development of a nuclear flight rocket in line with existing hardware and facilities, thus minimizing costs while diligently proceeding with the exploitation of this energy source. In future space operations, the NERVA rocket will provide this Nation with more than twice the current capacity to explore this new environment, while at the same time minimizing the total space program investment. Again, this is another benefit we have gained by our past confidence, investment, and support for NERVA program. In other words, we can already take pride in the fact that we did apply proper perspective to the NERVA program in the past.

Once NASA's Apollo program proceeds toward completion and the post-Apollo space exploration programing crystallizes, the use of the nuclear rocket will be established and it will be placed in operation. By continuing our strong support of this program, we have a chance to reduce the normal 6- to 8-year development-to-operation, mission-accomplished, leadtime we have been experiencing on sophisticated systems and missions, and thus reduce the operational program total costs.

So that no one can claim this program is another California "benefit" program, let us point out right now that less than 20 percent of the total dollars spent on the NERVA program are spent in California. The reactor raw material comes from Washington; the fuel fabrication takes place in Pennsylvania and Tennessee; the reactor containers come from

Utah; the advancements in reactor technology come from our esteemed scientists in New Mexico; the large metal ingots for forgings come from Indiana; the large forgings themselves come from Massachusetts; the primary ground handling equipment comes from Connecticut the rocket controls come from Michigan, Minnesota, and Ohio; the facility valves come from Rhode Island; the complex test stand exhaust duct comes from New York; the special remote handling tools comes from Wisconsin; and the testing is conducted in Nevada.

It has been reported to us that all necessary facilities to proceed with this development are already in place and in various stages of operation; that the scientific and technical Government-industry team is still intact; and that we are more than half way down the road toward accomplishment of the original goals set forth, which were supported by AEC, NASA, and the Congress.

The NERVA program, like other advanced programs for the exploitation of atomic energy, is contributing heavily to extending the fringe of our knowledge of this energy source. The total side benefits we will actually realize are hard to specify today. However, extension into the unknown has always benefited man in unsuspected ways. The results of working at the temperature levels and of meeting the basic material requirements of the NERVA program alone will undoubtedly contribute to the more advanced nuclear central station power technology of the 1980's; in advanced aircraft; to our maritime fleet; and who knows—maybe even to mass transportation and a smogless automobile.

By our continued, aggressive, but balanced support of the NERVA program as currently proposed by NASA, we will avoid repeating past mistakes in the high cost of catching up when unforeseen events, either military or peaceful, require it.

In our crystal ball, there are unforeseen events which may have greater impact on our Nation than the national problems we are now facing. They are somewhat clouded over, however, by the current coverage of Vietnam and the unrest at home.

Consider, for example, the Soviet "orbital missile," which has been discussed before various congressional committees. It got press notice when first disclosed by our Defense Department but quickly disappeared from the first 20 pages of our daily newspapers. Who knows for sure that the Soviets have not already violated the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty—that those "orbital missiles" are not "nuclear orbital missiles"?

Also, consider the recent, but not completely authenticated, notices of forthcoming Soviet space spectaculars, of their imminent launching of a nuclear-propelled space vehicle.

Are we again going to hear our citizens cry, Where were we? Congress, what did you do? We are a peace-loving nation, but we have found out in Africa, the Near East, and the Far East that others are not.

With the future propulsion capability that is afforded us by continued, wholehearted pursuit of the NERVA program,

we can have almost instant readiness to go out into space at any time, any place, in the shortest possible time. With our full support, we do, in fact, provide the Nation with proper perspective in relation to our total needs; we do provide balanced "cost-benefits"; and, at the same time, give ourselves a tool to do better things tomorrow and the next day.

A CHALLENGE TO THE DISSATISFIED—SERMON BY REV. DR. J. M. MCNAIR

HON. CLIFFORD P. HANSEN

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, I attended a breakfast meeting last week at which a good friend of mine, David Lawrence, commented upon issues of our times and led a most stimulating discussion.

During the course of his remarks at the breakfast meeting in the Capitol, Mr. Lawrence quoted excerpts from a sermon given by the Reverend Dr. J. M. McNair, of the First Presbyterian Church, Sarasota, Fla.

The sermon points out that some of the experiences we are faced with today were paralleled in the time of Joshua. The text of the sermon, entitled "A Challenge to the Dissatisfied," has a most direct application to what we in this country have in the way of realistic alternatives.

I commend the talk to the attention of Senators and other interested individuals and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CHALLENGE TO THE DISSATISFIED

Verses 14-18 of Joshua is that area of the scripture which covers the history of the Jewish nation during the time of its possessing the land of promise. As we notice from the scripture referred to, that the land had at last been occupied. The enemy had been driven back and the Israelites were now in possession of the long awaited promised land. The great leader Moses had died and Joshua had succeeded him in the leadership of the Jewish people.

At this period of history, Joshua himself was now an old man but he had lost none of his heroic ambition, wisdom and ability. One of the first tasks which he had to perform was to allot the land to the 12 tribes which was to be done according to their size and their prestige. Soon all the territory had been assigned. All of the tribes were well satisfied with the allotment with the exception of the powerful tribe of Joseph. Their territory was at the very center of the promised land consisting of the territory between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.

This included the rich and fertile plain of Sharon which consisted of some of the finest and most productive land in all of Palestine. Yet Ephraim and Manassah, which made the tribe of Joseph, were dissatisfied. Since Joshua belonged to the tribe, they made their complaint more readily thinking that it would be easy to give them a special favor.

If we read these words of complaint, they have a very modern touch. It is almost as

though we were reading our morning newspaper concerning the welfare state. That very thing is happening today. We have in our midst a vast number of people who are saying "Give me or we will burn." There are those in our midst who are always wanting to get something for nothing, who are dissatisfied with their inheritance and complain that it is too small and meager or their rights have been overlooked and they feel they have been dispossessed. Let us see what Joshua said to those complaining people.

If we can find an answer we will have a Biblical answer for those who want something for nothing.

The old hero replied: "The record is very interesting," and there is somewhat of a sting in his words. What he is saying is "go up to the high places." Every foot that you subdue shall be yours. They complained. Again Joshua replied.

This, then, is the answer of a man that knew what it was to fight for his inheritance.

Go win your inheritance and you do it by work, toil, ambition, Use your skill, use your ability, use your brain, use your courage, use your muscle. It is high time that we in America were heeding the words of Joshua. It is time that we were putting some muscle into our prayers. Because some have a greater share is no reason why you should have less.

The land of promise is not all occupied. The places of work are not all filled. The wealth of our nation has not all been gathered in and there is plenty of work for everyone to do if he will only put his heart to the task and work. Because one man lives in luxury is no reason why others have to live in poverty.

There is enough for all in the land of plenty and we can secure it by work. It is a foolish philosophy for anyone to say because one man is up the other must be down. The wealth of our land is not in one place or in one bank or in one family or in one nation. Such then is the implication that lies behind the reasoning of this Old Testament warrior. It is very easy for us to slip into the economic lie. It is an economic lie for anyone to say that there is just so much wealth and that if you get more than your share I must get less for mine.

The distribution of wealth cannot be achieved on that basis. We know that wealth does not consist of the amount of money that we have in the bank or in the pocket. Wealth is in the soil and in the air and in the river, in the forest, in the mills and factories. Wealth is in your brain and in your ambition and willingness to work. We must know that this secret of having and possessing is not in getting and dividing and sharing what we now have, but the secret is in creating and developing and discovering the new wealth which is ever ready to be uncovered by work.

It is as Joshua says, "Verily the mountains shall be yours." There is much land still to be possessed.

There is much wealth still to be created and we in America shall get on best by exploring many territories and new wealths instead of quarreling and wanting to divide up the wealth already created.

A few months ago, I made a tour of the laboratory of Thomas Edison at Ft. Myers.

This is the laboratory you recall in which he worked out many of his early experiments and inventions. It was amazing to me to see the crude machinery by which he felt his way to the lightbulb, gramophone and other inventions that we take as a matter of course. What a high mountain he had to climb, what a new territory he had to explore and what a new wealth he had to uncover.

If he were here today, I am sure he would not complain but would still be exploring new territories, discovering new mountains and uncovering new wealth.

If we had the time we could recall to you many others who began life with empty hands and empty pockets but that toiled and

worked to win for themselves that high place of promise they occupy.

May I quote to you a poem along these lines:

"The tree that never had to fight
For sun and sky and air and light
That stood out in the open plain
That got its share of sun and rain
Never became a forest king
But lived and died a scrubby thing.

"The man that never had to fight
To win his share of sun and light
That had things always done for him
By someone else and not by him
Never became a manly man
But lived and died as he began."

As I look now in the sunset years of my life, the joy of the struggle for an education is now my finest and fondest memory. The days of that sacrifice and struggle were good days.

The days of the handouts are never good days. The days of having things always done for us are not creative days, the days when people are provided with crutches are not healthy days. We need to hear again the words of the commandment, "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work" is just as binding as to keep the seventh day holy.

We need to hear again the words of Joshua as he says "work for your inheritance." This is why there can be no truce between Christianity and Communism.

The end of Communism is to obtain worldly goods and there are no other goods for the Communist. To get worldly goods they must be seized, they must be taken from those who already have them. The motive of Communism is class hatred, class violence and class war. Anything in fact to enable the have-nots to seize the goods of the haves. Christianity on the other hand asks us not to take but to give, not to seize but to share, not to hate but to love, not to destroy men's lives but to save them.

Christianity calls on men everywhere to work, toil, labor.

So between Christianity and Communism a great gulf is fixed and it is impossible for anyone to be on both sides of that gulf.

This ought to teach you then that Christianity can never be a complacent religion. There are vast areas to be opened up in the realm of Christian living. We all know we are not the Christians that we ought to be. There is still much to be occupied in your Christian loyalty, and deeds and service to your God. There are still new roads to be built on the way to Christian benevolence.

As Christians we have not yet learned to give as we ought to give. Sunday after Sunday I look into the faces of you good people who have come to worship. As I look into your faces, I am conscious of the positions which you occupy in the business and professional and social life of your community.

I also realize what God could do through you for the betterment of our great nation.

Will you not say to the people of America, the dissatisfied everywhere:

"Get thee up to the high mountains.
"Earn your inheritance.
"Work, work, work."

OLD ST. PETER'S TO BE DEMOLISHED—CHURCH THAT CRADLED THREE DENOMINATIONS TO CLOSE DOORS

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues an article which appeared recently in the

Catholic Sun describing the 120 years of faithful service of St. Peter's Church in Syracuse, N.Y. The article follows:

OLD ST. PETER'S CHURCH TO BE DEMOLISHED—CHURCH THAT CRADLED THREE DENOMINATIONS TO CLOSE DOORS

After 120 years of faithful service to three religions, the old but majestic and beautiful edifice of St. Peter's on N. State St. will come, rather, will step down.

FIRST: MAY MEMORIAL UNITARIAN 1844-83

The original Church was built by the Unitarians in 1844 under the able pastorship of Rev. Samuel J. May, after whom it was named. Rev. May was one of the areas most famous historical figures. He took part in the Jerry Rescue and was extremely active during the pre-Civil War days of the abolitionist movement. It was at May Memorial that the Syracuse Boys Club, the first Boy Scout Troop in the area, Dunbar Center, the Syracuse Memorial Hospital and the Syracuse Museum of Fine Arts, had their beginnings.

The building was demolished by a hurricane in 1852 and was later rebuilt at the same site. In 1883 the coming of the railroad caused the Unitarian Congregation to choose a new home at 472 James St. That Church built in 1885 has since been destroyed. So, for a span of about forty years, May Memorial was a spiritual mother to the Unitarians.

THEN: ST. MARK'S 1885-95

On the first of January, 1895, the edifice was sold to the German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation and renamed St. Mark's, or the Church of the Messiah. The "Syracuse Standard" in an article records the first meeting which took place on January 5, 1885:

"St. Mark's Congregation held public services for the first time last evening. A large company was present. Rev. Oberlander of Zion's German Church, preached, his text being Romans III, 16, 18, and the theme being Paul's advice to the Church. He described the life and character of St. Mark and exhorted the congregation to take for a model the Apostle whose name they had chosen for their Church.

The audience listened with close attention. But they, also, after ten years of evangelizing had to find a new home of worship to God.

AND: OLD ST. PETER'S 1895-1955

At this time there were many emigrants arriving from Italy. These needed work as soon as they arrived. Through the efforts of an emigrant by the name of Mr. Thomas Marinelli, these families settled in the City of Syracuse. Mr. Marinelli knew the English language, and so obtained the task of being intermediate for the newly developing railroad. He would go to the ports in New York City and recruit those interested in blazing the trails for the railroads by laying down the tracks. Seeing the pay was good and constrained because of circumstances, many joined up, and so was begun the Italian Colony of Syracuse. Mr. Marinelli opened a travel agency and bank for them.

But there was a need for an Italian Church. In 1890 the Catholic Diocesan authorities realized that the Italian Colony was increasing day by day and unless they were helped they would be lost to the Church. Priests were needed who both spoke the language, and who understood the customs and mentality of these people from the Old World.

With the arrival of, and the pioneering work of Father Mennella and the organizational genius of Father Beccherini, C.S., a missionary of St. Charles, plans to open an Italian Church was formulated. Finally on June 24, 1895, Father Beccherini secured a bank loan and purchased the German Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Mark at State and Burnet Ave. The cost of the Church was \$12,000. But alterations had to be made. Marble, white glittering, would be brought from Italy, their native land, to form the new Altar and Altar rail with its statues of

Jesus and the four evangelists. Indeed a thing of beauty. Beautiful religious statues were situated throughout the church auditorium. In the walls of the church were niches with different saint statues presented to the church by various groups of devout persons, who wished in this way to honor the patron saints of their native towns or villages. The large modern lighting fixture hung suspended on a long chain from the center of the ceiling, not mentioning the tablets of the stations of the cross, the confessionals, the oakwood pews and baptismal front. The Church was now ready.

And so, on October 6, 1895, the Church was dedicated and consecrated by Bishop Ludden amid great splendor and rejoicing. Three generations of Italians have passed through the arches of those doors since the dedication. Over 25,000 infants were baptized there. Who could say, or enumerate, how many persons came to worship there? The first Communion, the Confirmations, the couples united in Matrimony? Sinners came to seek pardon and devout entered to pray for perseverance in this new land and to bring up a decent family. Every day for 60 years the Holy Mass was offered to God to placate divine justice, to comfort the living and the dead. Indeed, St. Peter's was the Rock of Ages for these emigrants.

But it also had its problems. The construction by the New York Central Railroad of tracks adjacent to the church presented a new problem to the Church. Religious services were greatly disturbed by passing trains, and the pastor and the congregation decided unanimously to build a new church. The May 17, 1937 fire did not help the situation of an aging structure.

Campaigns were undertaken under the pastorships of the Rev. Angelo Strazzoni and the Rev. Louis Riello, to raise the necessary amount to begin construction. But after twenty-five years of sacrificing and saving, the money was pledged and collected.

Finally, on September 18, 1955, the new St. Peter's was dedicated by the Most Rev. Walter A. Foery, Bishop of Syracuse. The new church is located at 709 James Street and stands firm and strong as a witness to the Faith of a Migrant People—the Italians who came here.

In a short time, the bell on the tower of old St. Peter's will be brought back to new St. Peter's. We welcome it home. Who knows—we may hear it peeling again in the morning, calling us to worship our God together. The cornerstone also will be returned to us. We thank the St. Vincent De Paul Society and the demolition company for these sentimental relics of the past.

FINALLY: ST. VINCENT DE PAUL 1957-68

What was to be done with old St. Peter's? It was a True Mother to Three Religious sects. It had cuddled and cradled them for over a century. Was it to be a simple happy memory of the past? No! It was to serve for over ten years more as a center for the poor, the unfortunate, the destitute and the needy under the patronage of St. Vincent de Paul.

But alas, her time has come. Her years are beginning to show. She shakes and squeaks inside and out, to and fro. Weep not, it's been a good building. It has done its part—it has served faithfully. It is one hundred and twenty since!

Soon we will be hearing the thuds of the large steel ball beating away at its curving sides, let us tearfully but joyfully recall the rise and demise of an historical treasured landmark of our city.

What shall we call it? May Memorial? St. Marks? St. Peter's? St. Vincent's? Whatever we say I know will be utterances of high praise for a holy edifice—a true ecumenical structure!

On April 22nd, 1968, the new St. Peter's Church celebrated the 80th anniversary of the Scalabrini Fathers, the Italian Missionary Society for the Emigrants. The large

crowd of clergy and faithful was the testimony of a glorious occasion. The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Richard A. Clark substituted for Bishop Scalabrini Fathers for their activity in the op Foery who was unable to attend. After solemn words of thanks and praise to the Diocese, Msgr. Clark recited the Prayer to God for the Beautification of the Servant of God, Bishop John Baptist Scalabrini. The principal speaker, the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Daniel E. Lawler, spoke marvelously and with elegance. His words are so beautiful that we have decided to reprint them. The pastor of St. Peter's, the Rev. Alexander Rinaldo, C.S., must truly be commended for an impressive ceremony, a wonderful evening with clergy and people, and a superbly organized 90th anniversary of the Scalabrini Fathers (Copies of the Prayer for the Beautification of Bishop Scalabrini may be obtained from the rectory of St. Peter's at 709 James St.)

The text of Monsignor Lawler's talk at the 80th anniversary of the Missionary Society of St. Charles, delivered at the new St. Peter's Church on April 22nd, 1968 is hereby reprinted:

"SPIRIT OF SCALABRINI

"It is an old custom to celebrate a silver anniversary, or a golden, or diamond jubilee. But I suppose the question everyone may ask tonight is: 'Why do the Scalabrini Fathers pause to celebrate an 80th anniversary?' Did they forget their Diamond Jubilee five years ago? Or are they rehearsing for their centennial yet 20 years away?

"When I asked that question of Father Rinaldo, he told me to read my Holy Thursday Office very carefully and I would find the answer—and I did. There, in the Book of Psalms, the Holy Writer is chanting the praise of God for the span of man's life and he says, 'The days of our years . . . are threescore and ten years. But if in the strong they be fourscore years . . .' (Ps. 89:10)!

"Fourscore—yes, for the strong the span of a full life is 80 years! Because the Missionary Society of St. Charles is indeed to be numbered among the 'strong,' it deserves the Psalmist's measure of a full life, the span of 80 years. But, like the Church, it is not a life limited by the generations or measured only by its years. Like the Church it is always renewed and so the Psalmist goes on with his song and his says, 'Let the brightness of the Lord our God be upon us and direct . . . the work of our hands.' This, I am sure, is the prayer in the hearts tonight of the priests of the Missionary Society of St. Charles.

"This blessed anniversary brings to mind two blessed links to be noted tonight. One is the bond between the Scalabrini Fathers and the Diocese: and the other, the bond between Bishop Scalabrini and our own day. Let us look at them.

"About Bishop Scalabrini and our Diocese: Between Bishop Scalabrini of Piacenza, and Bishop Ludden of our own Diocese of Syracuse, there is a special bond. For each of them the year 1887 was a Year of Destiny. It was a troubled time on both sides of the ocean.

"In Italy, in the year 1887, Bishop Scalabrini was witness to the heart-breaking needs of thousands of Italian migrants then leaving their beloved Italy, and going to foreign lands without friends, or means, or knowledge of their new surroundings, and without even the consolation of their priests. It was in that year that Bishop Scalabrini founded the Missionary Society of St. Charles. In November two young priests knelt before him as the first to take the vows that would make them the servants and the shepherds of their migrant countrymen in foreign lands.

"There were hardships then in America too. In that same year, 1887, Bishop Ludden was consecrated the first Bishop of Syracuse and chose as his Cathedral our own St. John the Evangelist Church in this very neighborhood. He came to a city and a Diocese struggling

with the settling of many new immigrants from the troubled nations of Europe. He observed in a special way the pressing needs of his Italian-born parishioners here scattered through these very streets and he started planning for them at once. Within a few years he had a priest for them and a chapel in the parish hall of St. John the Evangelist Church. There it was that the first Italian colony of Syracuse could assemble to worship God, to teach their children, to find comfort and consolation together in a strange new country—and to plant the seeds for this, the present great parish of St. Peter.

"This warm bond between the Bishop of Syracuse and the sons and daughters of Italy is renewed here tonight in the presence of Monsignor Clark, as the representative of our own Bishop Foery and Bishop Cunningham. And in that same tradition many of the priests of the Diocese are here tonight to join in honoring the memory of a great servant of God, Bishop Scalabrini, and to salute his sons, the Missionary Society of St. Charles.

"Now, about Bishop Scalabrini and our own day: Here in this sanctuary tonight we have a special, personal bond to Bishop Scalabrini in our own Father Strazzoni. Just this weekend I was talking to Monsignor Strazzoni about his happy memories of Bishop Scalabrini. Monsignor Strazzoni was born in the Province of Piacenza; he many times served Bishop Scalabrini's Mass; he sat before him to hear his counsel. And yesterday he said to me, 'Bishop Scalabrini was a great figure in the Church; he was big heart; he was a gentle saint!'

"A 'gentle saint!' Does that not remind you of the word of Sacred Scripture that calls Our Lord the 'Lamb of God' (John 1:29)? But the same Scripture that calls Our Lord the 'Lamb of God' calls Him also the 'Lion of the tribe of Judah' (Apoc. 5:5) And so too was it with Bishop Scalabrini. Gentle indeed he was but with all his compassion and tenderness there was a vigor, a spark and a spirit that ruled his every action. He was driven day in and day out to take any step, to spend any effort, to face any change that would relieve the pain of the impoverished and the hungry and the lonely and the homeless. Somebody (James Morris) has said that he was 'not only the father of the immigrant but he was the advocate of the poor, the champion of social justice.'

"In this age of Church renewal, in this time of urban struggle, the challenge of change, the call to face the needs of God's people, whatever those needs would be, would find Bishop Scalabrini ready and right at home.

"This great Bishop who saw his humble peasant countrymen abused and exploited in the great cities of America and elsewhere and sent to them his Missionary sons of St. Charles to give them voice and leadership: what would he do today for other minority, suffering people of our own time?

"This great priest, who converted his own dwelling into a soup kitchen to serve 4,000 hungry souls a day: what would he do today for the poor among us?

"This great churchman, who sold his horses, his only means of conveyance about his Diocese, and even his precious chalice in order to provide fuel for the shivering peasants: what would he do for the homeless among us today?

"This great preacher who spoke out firmly against speculators and exploiters taking advantage of his beloved migrants: what would he say of similar injustice and discrimination today?

"This great citizen leader who rallied teams of volunteers in port after port and station after station to meet every ship and train in order to protect the innocent migrants from swindle and crime: what would he do today for those who have no jobs, no skills, no opportunities of a full and healthy life?

"What would Bishop Scalabrini do?—or

say? I believe, like Our Divine Master, the 'Lamb of God,' he would be gentle; but like our Divine Master, the 'Lion of Judah,' he would be strong, firm, sure. To him there would be no difference of race or color or creed. He would remind us all again of what once he called the 'sublime plan.' And what was that 'sublime plan?' This is how he described it to his Missionary sons. It was 'the union of all people under God.' ('The Listening Heart,' Page 64.)

"Tonight at Holy Mass, let us pray that we all may be true to the spirit of Scalabrini, and that the Sons of the Missionary Society of St. Charles may find answer to their prayer from the Psalmist, 'Let the brightness of the Lord our God be upon us and direct . . . the work of our hands.'

"It is of great interest and concern to the editors of this newspaper, and to us that the article regarding the 80th anniversary of the Scalabrini Fathers has been entered into the Congressional Records in Washington for all future posterity to review.

"Of course St. Peter's Church would like to express to The Catholic Sun its sincere thanks for printing of this article on April 11, page 7. Mr. Vieau in particular helped in the preparation with Father Henry Gentile, C.S., Assistant at St. Peter's.

"In a special way Mr. John Nave, Commander of the John Vendetti Post No. 1, Italian American War Veterans of the United States be commended and thanked by St. Peter's for his letter to the Honorable James Hanley, Congressman, that it be inserted in the records.

"Of course, Mr. James Hanley, faithful Congressman that he is, will not be forgotten for the kindness shown to the Scalabrini Fathers and their emigrants on that occasion. His words:

"Mr. Speaker, yesterday, April 22nd, St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, Syracuse, N.Y., was the site for the celebration of the 80th anniversary of the Scalabrini Fathers. This dedicated order of Catholic Priests has left an indelible mark on society. Last week a remarkably impressive article depicting the history and labors of the Scalabrini Fathers appeared in The Catholic Sun. I would like to share that Article with my colleagues.'

"And so it was on April 23, 1968, Tuesday, in the House of Representatives.

"OUR THANKS

"We are most grateful to the Onondaga Historical Association and Varden Studios of Syracuse, for their fine cooperation of photos and background."

NIXON ON CRIME

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the May 14, 1968, issue of the Washington Evening Star contains an excellent editorial entitled "Nixon on Crime."

Mr. Nixon is cited as being the only candidate thus far who has made a forthright, clear, and courageous description of the crime problem of the country and the measures needed to deal with it.

Mr. President, I commend this excellent editorial to the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

NIXON ON CRIME

Richard Nixon's recent statement of his position on crime in this country has been criticized by some as having a political coloration. There is some basis for this. But how could it be otherwise in a presidential election year?

The Nixon statement also sets forth facts pertaining to the dismaying upsurge in crime and is specific in spelling out some of the things he would do to combat crime. These are the sections on which serious attention should be focused.

In the last seven years, Nixon said, crime in this country has increased by a staggering 88 percent although the rise in population has been only 10 percent. Projecting his estimates, the Republican presidential hopeful said that if the present crime rate continues the number of major crimes will double by the end of 1972—less than five years in the future. Certainly the former vice president was not exaggerating when he said that this is a prospect which America cannot accept, and which, if it should be accepted, will convert the metaphorical "city jungle" into a "barbaric reality."

What does Nixon think should be done at a time when crime is increasing almost nine times as rapidly as the population? He does not take the view that there is any one simple answer. But he does come down squarely and firmly in support of the crime bill now being debated in the Senate, and he specifically included in his statement of support two of the bill's most controversial sections. These would authorize the use of wiretaps and electronic devices under appropriate court safeguards in certain serious crimes, and, second, would modify the Supreme Court's Miranda decision relating to the use of confessions.

Those who equate the use of wiretaps and electronic bugs with a police state in full flower argue that, in any event, these devices would be of no help in curbing the ordinary crimes of violence—robberies, murders, burglaries and the like. Perhaps these things would be helpful in dealing with organized crime, they say, but it is not organized crime which makes people afraid to walk the streets at night.

Nixon's answer to that is this: "Organized crime is also directly and deeply involved in street crime. One estimate is that some 50 percent of the street crime in some of our major cities is the work of addicts trying to support their habit—and traffic in illegal narcotics is a major enterprise of organized crime." In the face of this it is almost incredible that the President and Attorney General Clark, who favor use of wiretaps and bugs without any court supervision in "national security cases," would outlaw them in all other kinds of investigations.

The proposed modification of the Miranda decision, if anything, is more offensive than the possible use of wiretaps to the critics of the Senate bill. To listen to them, one would think that the sponsors of this provision are wicked men, bent not only upon subverting the Supreme Court but also upon turning back the clock of justice to the star chamber days. This is so childishly absurd that it does not merit serious debate.

There are two points worth noting, however. One is the comment by Supreme Court Justice White, speaking for himself and Justices Harlan and Stewart: "I continue to believe that the decision in Miranda was an extravagant and unwise interpretation of the Fifth Amendment, and I would prefer that Miranda be abandoned. . . ." Are these justices to be condemned as subverters of the court?

The other point is that it may not be possible for Congress to alter the impact of Miranda through enactment of a statute, which the court could declare unconstitutional. Nixon, though supporting the provision, recognizes this. If it should be im-

possible to pass legislation which would satisfy the court, he says, then consideration should be given to amending the Constitution.

This Nixon statement strikes us as a forthright, clear and courageous description of the nature of the crime problem as he sees it, and of the measures needed to deal with it. We hope, political year or not, that Messrs. Kennedy, McCarthy, Humphrey and Rockefeller will be no less specific as they continue to stake out their own political claims.

FARMS IN THE SPOTLIGHT

HON. JAMES F. BATTIN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Speaker, each week when Congress is in session I send reports to my constituents on issues under consideration. Since the farm program and policies have been under debate during the past 2 weeks, I am this week devoting my report to comments on farm legislation. Under unanimous consent I include this report in the Extensions of Remarks:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN, JIM BATTIN, REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

MAY 17, 1968.

DEAR FRIENDS: For the past two weeks the nation's farmers have been in the spotlight in Congress. First in debate over appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and now over extension of the Johnson-Freeman farm program. As usual, when farmers are the subject of debate, there is a danger that big-city interests will sacrifice the farmers' interests for the doubtful solutions of urban ills. This year, of course, is no exception and although our farmers are in urgent need of help, there is still a strong movement to limit government assistance in the farm economy.

This week Congress considered recommendations by the Administration for an extension of the current farm program and we heard that this program is the farmers' salvation—without which our rural areas would be pitched into a depression. Many of us who are familiar with the farm economy wonder who has been keeping the news from Mr. Freeman and other Administration spokesmen. Farmers are already suffering a depression and the current farm program has done nothing to change this.

One thing that I have tried to stress in these debates is the importance of farming to the nation—not just to Montana and other farm states. Farming is big business and farmers are working under a large handicap—current government farm policies. We are being pressured now to accept the Johnson-Freeman method of farm supports without change, to disregard the failings of this program and to provide another year's operation to a system that has performed miserably for the past three years.

As Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman has had eight years to prove his touted wisdom in farm matters and the proof is in the results. Freemanized farming has brought an emphasis to low farm prices and has resulted in the virtual abolition of the family-sized farm. When Freeman took office in 1960 there were 4 million farms in America. Since then, one fourth of these farms have gone by the way on the auction block or have been quietly absorbed into large corporation holdings. This seems to be the deliberate goal of Freeman.

It is easy to see what has brought about this gradual, but steady, disappearance of the

small farm and the continuing pressure on our rural economy. Farm debt is climbing fast. Farmers buy \$5.3 billion worth of equipment yearly. When prices drop, as they have consistently through the Freeman term, farmers can't pay. The only thing they can do then is to borrow money. Debts pile up, they get bigger mortgages and smaller income, pay more interest, go deeper in debt and then finally give up. The majority of farmers in America have been reduced to living off the inflated value of their land. More and more I hear from Montana farmers who are frustrated with pawning all their land and equipment to plant crops that in the end narrowly cover the expense of planting.

Farmers need help from the government to overcome the obstacles that the Department of Agriculture has thrown in the way of profitable production. And while the current farm program has provided price supports and other aid to the farmers, Freeman policies have kept farm commodity prices so low that the price supports are sometimes the only income a farmer receives.

As an alternative to Freeman's programs and policies, I would want to see an Administration in the Department of Agriculture that truly represents the farmer, that works to improve farm prices and that doesn't use doubtful estimates to depress prices when improvement is in sight. As a step in the direction of giving farmers security, a strategic reserve of grains should be established to handle surpluses that depress the grain market almost yearly. This reserve would provide insulation for the market and it would also provide a ready supply of grain for bad years. We have an emergency supply of strategic metals and other products, but not foodstuffs. Because of the possibility of having another Secretary of Agriculture like Orville Freeman, Congress would have to provide safeguards so that these reserves could not be used to influence grain prices in good years.

Besides the farm program extensions, Congress has been considering Department of Agriculture appropriations this month. This issue always brings forth congressmen who see the farm programs as a likely place to economize. It is a hard fight every year to provide government assistance to farmers because the opponents see a \$5.9 billion budget which they think goes directly to a small portion of our society. But then \$4.3 billion of that budget goes to the general public in food stamps, school lunches, milk, inspection, testing, and overseas food distribution. Only \$1.6 billion goes to the front. Looking at the breakdown of the Agriculture budget, you can see who Orville Freeman represents and it is not the farmer.

Sincerely,

RIOT INSURANCE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. THURMOND Mr. President, the Washington Evening Star of May 14, 1968, contains an Associated Press report on insurance in riot exposed areas.

A spokesman for the American Mutual Insurance Alliance states that insurance companies cannot risk their solvency and the promises they have made to their customers by exposing their assets to unlimited loss. He also pointed out that in order for casualty insurance companies to remain in the urban riot areas, city

authorities must take the necessary steps to preserve law and order.

It is not beyond the realm of probability that civil rights sympathizers will soon demand that the Federal Government step in and provide the necessary funds to insure the continuance of riot insurance. In my opinion, this is the responsibility of free enterprise and the appropriate local governmental authorities. When these administrators come to their senses and realize the extent of damage resulting from their permissive attitude toward riots, perhaps they will do more to protect the lives and property of their citizens.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESPONSIBILITY OUTLINED: ASSURANCES HELD KEY TO RIOT INSURANCE

CHICAGO.—An insurance executive asserted that if property-casualty insurance companies are to remain in urban riot areas for the long pull they must be assured that all necessary steps are being taken to preserve law and order.

"The responsibility for providing a continued insurance market in riot-exposed areas does not rest with insurance companies alone," said H. J. Lowry, president of the American Mutual Insurance Alliance, yesterday. "It is shared with civil authorities, with insurance regulatory officials and with the residents of the affected areas."

Lowry, who also is chairman of the Michigan Mutual Liability Co., Detroit, said officials are learning through experience on how to hold down property losses in riots "but much more needs to be done."

"The story hasn't been told on how many riots have been prevented by effective advance preparations," said Paul S. Wise of Chicago, general manager of the alliance.

Both expressed their views in talks and interviews at the annual meeting of the alliance and affiliated groups.

Lowry said insurance premium rates are based on predictability but that riots are "about the most unpredictable events in our experience."

"You can predict patterns of windstorm and hurricane losses with a fair degree of accuracy," he said, "but riots are entirely unpredictable."

Lowry said that insurance companies which had concentrated their business in areas torn by riots have suffered serious losses.

"If we have five or six Detroit-type riots back to back in the future it would pose a terrible problem," he said.

REINSURANCE SOUGHT

Bills are pending in Congress to provide federal reinsurance for riot loss programs after the first layer of private insurance coverage has been exhausted and state governments have made a contribution.

Lowry said he does not look upon such a prospect with optimism "but we may well discover that we have no other acceptable course open to us."

"The companies cannot risk their solvency, and the promises they have made to other policyholders, by exposing their assets to an unlimited exposure to loss," he said. "Some other sources of payment will have to be found to finance this unacceptable exposure until the losses can be brought back within the limits of predictability."

Mutual companies write about one-third of the property-casualty policies in the United States and stock companies the remainder.

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN

HON. SANTIAGO POLANCO-ABREU

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. POLANCO-ABREU. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged more than most upon coming to Congress as a freshman legislator, because for 2 years I served with Joe Martin as a colleague.

Like others, I had become familiar with the reputation of this outstanding Republican leader. It was with some feeling of awe that I first met him; then, this feeling was replaced with one of admiration and respect; then, a feeling of warmth and friendship set in.

Here was a man of unusual accomplishment, who in an instant gave a freshman legislator the feeling that all of us are equal here, merely garbed with different clothes.

His simplicity, then, which I later learned was his characteristic, seemed strangely inconsistent with the stature of the man who had shared the speakership with the great Sam Rayburn.

Still, this was his character, and because it was, this thought has persisted with me:

Few thought of Joe Martin as kingly among men because he was a humble man, but his heart beat in the breast of a powerful man, a leader of men, a man cut from stronger cloth than most leaders.

The years had advanced on Joe Martin when I knew him, but these qualities somehow were still evident.

He served brilliantly in the fruit of his years, both this country and its people and with the highest dedication. I should think that this would be his truest monument.

**CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE
POLICEMAN**

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, proper and effective law enforcement has been undercut in recent years by decisions of the Supreme Court and a decline in public support for police officers and their difficult responsibilities. The striving for a balance to assure the civil liberties of the accused has resulted in restrictions on police and a freeing of a number of criminals on minor procedural technicalities. The term "police brutality" has become a slogan for all types of agitators and lessened the active support by the average citizen for his local law-enforcement officers.

This weakening of authority in law enforcement was discussed at considerable length at the Eighth District Conference on Crime and Law Enforcement, which I sponsored in Mansfield on December 4, 1967. As we look ahead to the grim probability of a rising crime rate, increasing incidents of civil disorder and rioting in

our cities, the conduct of the police in enforcing the law fairly and equitably without undue judicial restrictions compels consideration of this subject by the Congress.

I am pleased to recommend to my colleagues' attention an excellent essay written by a high school student in my district. Bruce Way attends Mohawk High School in Sycamore, Ohio. His social studies teacher, Robert E. Harmon, referred this paper to me as an example of the intelligence and sound thinking of young people today. I commend Bruce Way for his thoughtful analysis and insights expressed in "Civil Liberties and the Policeman." The dedication to wholesome development and education of the students at Mohawk High School by the faculty should not be overlooked when we commend the accomplishments of their students. I am proud of the educators in the Eighth District and the parents who really care about their children's education. These are strongly reflected in Bruce Way's essay.

Mr. Speaker, I insert this essay at this point in the RECORD:

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE POLICEMAN

(By Bruce Way)

The belief in "limited government" is, has been, and will continue to be an integral part of the American dream. It was the hatred of the British iron-like rule, supported by the red clad British regulars, that fomented the birth of the American nation. It was the fear of a too strong state and the ensuing dissent that nearly cost the young country its unity in the early days of freedom. And it was the same fear of big government vs. the little citizen that prompted the founding fathers to incorporate the Bill of Rights as the first ten amendments to the new Constitution. Each guarantees a certain right to the people, and each presents itself as a direct limitation on the power of the governing authorities. Two of these, the fourth and fifth, and a third, the fourteenth, added after the Civil War, deal most directly with the subject of this paper; that instrument of the government charged with the direct enforcement of its laws—the American Policeman.

Amendment four reads: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."¹

The key word, of course, is "unreasonable." It has given rise to convictions and reversals based upon the admissibility of evidence acquired without warrants or through accident.

Amendment five reads: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment of indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."²

This has held to be the basis for the greatest controversies. Coupled with the sixth

¹ The Constitution of the United States, Amendment Four.

² Ibid., Amendment Five.

amendment's guarantee of counsel for defense, the fifth has led to the recent crack-down on police procedures during and immediately following arrest.

Amendment fourteen (section 1) is a further explanation of the due process clause, relegating it to state authorities:

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."³

Though the early lawmakers strove hard for a fair and equal system of laws, it was inevitable that some should be contested, for, as society is progressive, so must its law be progressive. It has been the U.S. Supreme Court, as well as the lesser Federal and State Courts, that have recently set a radical slant to the time-honored techniques of the police. Recent Supreme Court decisions have widened protections of accused individuals at the expense of police and prosecutors.⁴

Based on the theory that it is "better to let a few criminals escape than to capture them illegally,"⁵ the majority consisting of justices Black, Douglas, Fortas, Brennan, and Chief Justice Warren has joined with the lower courts in reversals of several past convictions on technicalities of law and has set down new rules grossly limiting further convictions.

On the subject of confessions, the record dates back as far as 1936. The case of *Brown vs. Mississippi* saw the conviction reversed on the grounds that unreasonable force was used in extracting the confession. In the 1949 case of *Watts vs. Indiana* the conviction was reversed on the grounds that it was not wholly voluntary. The 1957 conviction in *Mallory vs. the U.S.* was reversed on the grounds that the suspect was held unreasonably long before interrogation. And the latest case of controversy was the Supreme Court's reversal of the conviction of Danny Escobedo, sentenced to life imprisonment by the State of Illinois for murder. The Court held that since Escobedo had been denied the right of counsel before questioning, where he subsequently confessed, the conviction was invalid.

The Court also reversed the 1961 conviction of *Mapp vs. Ohio* ruling that evidence not specifically named in a search warrant is inadmissible.

Chief Justice Warren sent down a list of four rules applicable to all arrests. Based upon the premise that the suspect's right to silence begins in the station house rather than during prosecution, they are (1) the authorities must tell the suspect of his right to remain silent; (2) they must tell the suspect that anything he says may be used against him; (3) they must tell the suspect of his right to counsel, and that the lawyer may be present during interrogation; and (4) that the state will furnish a lawyer if the suspect is indigent.⁶

Justice Warren, himself quoting at great lengths from police manuals and prior decisions, voiced the basic context of the ruling as follows: "As soon as police deprive anyone of freedom in any significant way, he must be told of his rights."⁷ Warren further stated that even if there is no physical intimidation

involved, the suspect, "in police custody, surrounded by antagonistic forces, and subject to the techniques of persuasion," that have formed the stock-in-trade of the modern interrogator, "cannot be otherwise than under compulsion. The very atmosphere of the police station carries its own badge of intimidation."⁸ The Court seems to be handing down the conflicting opinions that the police must be significantly regulated on one hand while simultaneously placing the burden of the convictions squarely in their hands. "If the suspect remains silent, officials must produce convicting evidence through painstaking detective work, rather than the cruel, simple expedient of compelling from his own mouth."⁹

Where bearing out the rights of a few, the Court, as well as others, seems to be dangerously approaching the point where law enforcement will be at best haphazard and fraught with encumbering technicalities, all of which will only serve the guilty party.

While assuming a broadly liberal interpretation of the law as applied to the criminal, the Court has taken a surprisingly strict interpretation of the laws which limit the enforcement officers. The prevailing opinion seems to be that it is better to let a few criminals escape than to capture them illegally. Former Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, while speaking proudly in defense of the policemen, nevertheless said, "It is entirely proper to limit what the police may do in the course of an investigation, even if those limitations result in some of the guilty avoiding convictions."¹⁰

However, even among the High Court itself, the decisions have been far from unanimous, or even harmonious. With Justice John Harlan acting as chief spokesman, the group of White, Stewart and Clark lodged a vehement protest. There was worry that the citizenry might see the police so reduced in effectiveness as to be practically worthless and would attempt to take the law into their own hands. Justice White's written dissent, which has been already borne out by statistics, expressed a strong fear of repetition. "In some unknown number of cases the Court's rule will return a killer, a rapist, or other criminal to the streets . . . to repeat his crime whenever it pleases him."¹¹

And the lawmen themselves, those who must live with and function under the new restrictions, are not taking them well. Though powerless to act against the Court, men from Mayor to rookie cop are making their dissatisfaction known.

F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover was among the first. "Certainly the rights of law-abiding citizens deserves as much consideration as the rights of convicted criminals, and when it becomes a question of deciding between lenient treatment of repeating offenders and the safety of the public, fair play alone demands protection of the public."¹²

The policemen seem to have lost, at least momentarily, the basic weapon of their trade. Some authorities feel that confessions are vital in as many as four out of five convictions.¹³ The confession now, however, is at best improbable, if not impossible. A lawyer's first advice to a client is silence, and even if the suspect waives his right to counsel and/or silence, the police must "prove" that it was done voluntarily. Los Angeles' Mayor Sam Yorty fears, "This decision deprives us of the cooperation of the person

who knows the most about the crime—the one who committed it—and puts the handcuffs on the police instead of on the criminal."¹⁴

Furthermore, one may add to this the fact that the rules apply only to the officer—there can be no way of "regulating" the criminal's conduct if not by existing laws. And certainly no one can expect the courts to release an apprehended lawbreaker on a mere technicality without encouraging others to crime. Neither can the public expect the lawman to keep operating at peak efficiency as long as his best efforts are turned away by the law. "We have excellent men, but they tell me they're getting discouraged. A cop makes an arrest, then finds that he is the bad guy in court."¹⁵

The officer is the man of the moment, the one who must analyze and act in an instant to the best of his knowledge. Thad Brown, Chief of the Los Angeles Police, voiced his discontent of the Court's "intolerance." "A 21 year old policeman may have to make a snap decision in a situation that the Supreme Court may take weeks to study—then decide, 5-4, that the officer did the wrong thing."¹⁶

All-in-all, someone seems to be overlooking the idea the laws are aimed at the lawbreaker in hopes of either removing him from the society or the correction of his problem. By reversing the laws so that the policeman is in the wrong, the court allows the criminal to return and destroys any rehabilitative effects that may have been in existence.

The society that has fostered the law and the criminal, then charged the policeman as the one who must maintain accord, might be expected to allot at least some sympathy if not support to their beleaguered defenders, but such is not the case. The American concept of the police officer has deteriorated to a dangerously low point. They are the instruments of authority, an authority that, in today's affluent society where money can be expected as a cure-all, is becoming greatly resented by the populace.

After all, most people come in direct contact with the police only under unpleasant circumstances, the same circumstances from which they form their opinions. The apathy toward the law has apparently formed the general attitude of "go away and don't bother me—except at times when I need your help. Then you'd better come running—fast."¹⁷

The policeman is caught in a vicious circle: he is disliked if he takes action and distrusted if he doesn't; if he is perhaps a little extra diligent, the people see him as a Gestapo-type agent, but if he shows occasional permissiveness, he is accused of being in on a shakedown, and if he cracks down on petty crime and the misdemeanor, he is accused of walking away from real trouble, while if he is hard on the more flagrant evils, he is accused of closing his eyes to the obvious.

The overall lot is summed up in the words of Omaha Safety Director Francis E. Lynch when he says, "Police want to be respected—not loved, but at least respected. But your ears would turn red if you listened to what we are called, day after day, on ordinary tours of duty."¹⁸

Hope for improvement may lie in the likes of Detroit's Ray Girardin, who has built into his department one of the most effective community relations systems to date. The prime basis of Girardin's policy is an open door, open to anyone with or without a beef with the police. He feels, and apparently

³ *Ibid.*, Amendment Fourteen, Section I.

⁴ "The Rising Storm Over Crime and the Courts," *Senior Scholastic* (March 18, 1966), p. 7.

⁵ Edwin S. Newman, *Police, the Law and Personal Freedom* (New York, 1964), p. 56.

⁶ "Rewriting the Rules," *Newsweek* (June 27, 1966), p. 25.

⁷ "New Rules for Police Rooms," *Time* (June 24, 1966), 53.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ "Courts Too Soft on Criminals?" *U.S. News, LIX* (August 16, 1966), 66.

¹¹ "Rewriting the Rules," *Newsweek*, p. 22.

¹² Lt. Marvin Leonard, Editorial, *Valor*, VI, (Jan.-Feb.-Mar.).

¹³ "Rewriting the Rules," *Newsweek*, p. 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ "Crisis Facing the Nation's Police," *U.S. News, LIX* (October 17, 1966), 83.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ "The Storm Around U.S. Policemen," *Senior Scholastic* (January 14, 1965), p. 14.

¹⁸ "Crisis . . .," *U.S. News*, p. 84.

rightly so, that the best way to allay suspicions on the part of the public is to open the department to their prying eyes.

Programs like Detroit's have carried over into the explosive Civil Rights Issue. Any dilemma facing the cop in his own ethnic group is more than doubled when he faces members of another race. Yet using police of the same race as the wrongdoers can only ameliorate the situation slightly.

During Chicago's race trouble of July-August 1966, both white and Negro policemen took an exceptional amount of abuse from their friends and neighbors for their actions in upholding the laws they are sworn to.

The officer's oath leaves little room for personal opinion or feeling. The policeman can only enforce, he may not enact legislation or pass judgment on existing law.

Yet the very duties he is sworn to may be, and have been, causes of violence and rioting. The McCone Commission, established to investigate the Watts rioting, found that all of seven major northern riots were sparked by "police incidents."¹⁹

Try as he may, an officer can seldom overcome the hatred directed solely at his blue uniform. Southern Negroes, for years subjected to the admittedly over-harsh and discriminate treatment of Southern cops, transfer their accumulated hatred to the Northern police when they move.

It is in the Civil Rights movement, too, that the seeds of most despised word associated with law enforcement are found and nurtured—brutality.

The cry of "police brutality" inevitably resounds wherever and whenever the man of the law is called into action against a mob, and ever more frequently in single, isolated incidents. Some, like Dean Joseph Lohman, Director of the Department of Criminology at the University of California, see brutality as a philosophical/sociological issue.

"The words 'police brutality' mean all the double standards and all the indignities police can subject minority people to in an unlightened community. The police are today in fact less brutal than they have ever been—in terms of physical brutality. But what the people are objecting to is that they reinforce a social order that can be more brutal than the worst physical violence."²⁰

One could conceivably draw from such an assumption that the solution to the question is either a total social revolution or anarchy—neither of which finds favor with any levelheaded citizen of any race.

To many others, however, brutality means simply a rough handling, a tone of voice, or even a hard stare. The policeman is empowered to use "reasonable force" in a situation where it is deemed necessary. Yet the interpretation of "reasonable" has in itself been somewhat startling. Two off-duty Chicago officers confronted two Puerto Rican men threatening people with a broken beer bottle. The officers identified themselves then pulled their revolvers. The men attacked both and badly slashed one, but the battery charge was dismissed by a Negro court judge who ruled that the officers used "unreasonable force."²¹

Judging by the above, and a multiple of similar incidents, one becomes aware that it is the policeman himself who is often the victim of the alleged "police brutality."

While an investigation by the Philadelphia Civilian Review Board of 789 complaints of brutality over the past eight years resulted in only 47 recommendations for disciplinary ac-

tion, an investigation of violence upon officers over the period 1960-63 showed assaults upon one of every ten officers, and 168 murders.²²

The courts, once the strongest allies of the policeman, have added insult to injury by remaining grossly inconsistent. The Escobedo decision left much room for questions, questions the courts have failed to clarify. Rights of the police and arrestees vary widely from state to state.

Furthermore, says Nicholas Katzenbach, "... as cases have presented more and more difficult questions of fairness and propriety, I believe the judges have left the public behind, and, even among judges, the margins of the consensus have been passed."²³

By and large the policeman remains in a culture unto himself and his fellows, and he may be part of "vanishing America." It is becoming increasingly difficult to attract qualified men to police work. It has become a job where the man must live in the short run. He is underpaid; human life often must assume the proportions of an expendable commodity; his daily work has no set plan, yet is often beset by oppressive boredom. He tends to lose both faith in people and sight of the higher goals of society.

As one New York policeman voiced it, "The cop is the world's leading expert on grubby reality. All people may be equal when they're born, but by the time the cop meets them some are unequal—the ones who are preying on the innocent."²⁴

His position now is shaky. Ahead lies another of the long hot summers that has already seen the beginnings of racial revolt. On the docket of some of the nation's highest courts are precedent-setting cases that may have even further devastating effects on the officer's life. And in the cities and suburbs is an ever-cynical populace waiting to pounce on the first wrong move but only grudgingly acknowledging their debt. It is in their hands that the final decision must inevitably rest, "For the instincts of the police, after all, can be no better than those of the society they are sworn to defend."²⁵

NEIGHBORHOOD FARMING

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting a thought-provoking article on an example of how farmers might increase their efficiency and still lower their machinery capitalization costs. The idea is a modern-day version of the old threshing machine ring, when a group of neighbors combined to buy the machine and tractor.

The author, Warner Christeson, also points out that Farmers Home Administration loans can be made to farm corporations. Such corporations could and have produced some cost-cutting techniques for farmers in their never ending battle against increasing costs.

The column was carried in the Marshall Messenger, published at Marshall, Minn., as follows:

¹⁹ Lt. Marvin Leonard, *Valor*, p. 17.

²⁰ "Courts Too Soft on Criminals?" *U.S. News*, p. 67.

²¹ "Summer '66 . . ." *Newsweek*, p. 25.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

There is more talk about corporations buying up huge tracts of land and crowding out the small farmer than is really taking place. It is a fact that large modern machinery is more efficient than smaller units.

Vernon Paulson, Lyon County Farmers Home Administration supervisor, says that F.H.A. has a loan program where two, three or more farmers can form a cooperative to buy machinery. He says that there are a number of such cooperatives in Minnesota.

One in Lyon County, he said, three farmers bought a large combine with a picker-head. These farmers not only harvest their own grain, beans and corn, but have time to do custom work as well.

The investment for each farmer is not risky. Certainly, each of the three could not afford a costly combine. It could be that these farmers should also own a portable grain dryer to go with the combine.

Since neighborhood threshing was replaced by combines there has been a trend of farmers working less with each other. Perhaps a return to neighbor cooperation could help retain the small family farm.

I knew a group of farmers in Polk county who bought the largest self propelled combine they could get their hands on. Each then sold his small six foot harvester. It worked so well with this group that they later bought a potato harvester together.

Another way small farms can use larger machinery is for each cooperater to buy a piece of large equipment and charge his neighbors a custom rate. He in turn would pay a custom rate for some other operation.

This method has the advantage that one owner may be more concerned about maintenance costs and take better care of the machine.

I mentioned the F.H.A. loan program but as the television ads say others are important in ones financial future. If three or four farmers think that they can agree and need larger more efficient machinery the idea is worth studying.

I know that if I were farming I would like to sit in a comfortable cab of a new diesel tractor pulling five bottoms.

CONGRATULATIONS TO GRADUATES

HON. WILLIAM C. WAMPLER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure we all agree that in this day and age when education is so important to every individual, graduation from high school certainly deserves recognition. I insert the following in the RECORD as an example of how I congratulate those graduating from high school in the Ninth District of Virginia:

Word of your graduation from high school occasions this letter of congratulations and best wishes.

I know this is a proud and happy time for you, your family and friends. I want you to know that I share that pride. Your hard work through the years of grade school and high school has now culminated in your graduation.

I am enclosing a small token in recognition of your achievement. Please accept this with all my best wishes.

My hope and prayers are that God will bless and direct you as you take your place in society as a responsible citizen.

¹⁹ Lloyd Shearer, "The Police Crisis in America," *Valor*, p. 9.

²⁰ "Summer '66: Cops on the Spot," *Newsweek* (June 27, 1966), p. 22.

²¹ "Police Brutality—Fact or Fiction?" *U.S. News*, LIX (September 6, 1965), p. 37.

Mr. Speaker, I also enclose a certificate for each graduate which reads as follows:

CONGRATULATIONS

It is my pleasure to congratulate you upon the accomplishment of your graduation. May this day begin a further achievement in the ideals of citizenship in your community and for your country. I sincerely trust that you will continue your quest for increased knowledge.

COST OF LIVING CLIMBS

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the cost-of-living increases are admittedly an unfair "tax" on every American and are not selective of any income group, rich or poor. The strong response of the current administration in pressing for a tax increase, however, is negated by its weak initiative to implement steps that will assure the reordering of national priorities within the limits of the Nation's resources and capabilities.

When taxes at all levels of government are perpetually raised, merely to redirect spending authority from the private to the public sector, and become so oppressive as to lose the support and confidence of the American public in the ability of Government to discipline itself, it is time to reevaluate Government's role and assess the achievable short-range objectives with relation to the long-term goals.

The cost-of-living index for March, covering the Philadelphia metropolitan area and including the First District of New Jersey, was recently announced by the Department of Labor's regional office, Bureau of Labor Statistics. The index rose within the month by one-half of 1 percent to the all-time high of 120.7, and represents a 4.5-percent increase since March 1967. In terms of purchasing power, the value of the dollar declined by almost 33 percent in relation to the 1947-49 dollar values, a span of only 20 years. As reported in the Woodbury Daily Times:

Prices paid for cost-of-living goods and services in the Philadelphia metropolitan area rose sharply by one-half of one percent in March to a level of 120.7 percent of the average of 1957-59 prices, it was announced today by Herbert Bienstock, regional director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The rise in the area's index compares with a four-tenths of one percent advance in the previous month.

Leading the rise were food, housing, apparel, used cars, reading and recreation. The rise in food prices accounted for two-fifths of the March increase in the over-all index.

Prices in the Philadelphia area, which includes southern New Jersey, were 4.5 percent higher than in March, 1967. Over the past 10 years, the Philadelphia area index has risen six times between February and March, declined twice, and remained unchanged twice.

PURCHASING POWER DROPS

With the March index at 120.7, the Philadelphia area consumer had to pay \$12.07 to buy what \$10 purchased in the 1957-59 base

period. Expressed as purchasing power, the dollar in March was worth 82.9 cents in terms of 1957-59 dollars and 67.5 cents in terms of 1947-49 dollars.

The food index for the area rose eight-tenths of one percent between February and March. In the food-at-home index, higher averages were reported for cereals and bakery products, up six-tenths of one percent, meats, poultry and fish up 1.2 percent; and fruits and vegetables, up 2.8 percent. Lower were dairy products, down .1 percent and other foods at home, such as canned goods, down .3 percent.

Since March, 1967, retail food prices have risen 4.3 percent, down .3 percent, with the largest year-to-year increases reported for fruits and vegetables, up 11.8 percent, and restaurant meals, up 8.4 percent. Among foods reported higher in March were rump and rib roasts, veal cutlets, pork chops, lamb chops, apples, bananas, oranges, grapefruit, potatoes, and tomatoes. Lower averages were reported for chuck roast, hamburger, bologna, haddock, cucumbers, and salad oil.

APPAREL AND UPKEEP

Between February and March, the apparel and upkeep index rose .9 percent with higher tags reported for men's shoes, women's earrings, cocktail dresses and shoes. Seasonally higher were prices for women's cotton skirts and dresses. Prices were lower for men's slacks and girl's coats.

The transportation index rose .3 percent, reflecting an increase in used car prices, gasoline, and tires. However, lower prices were reported for new cars and airplane fares.

The health and recreation index rose .6 percent with higher average prices reported for medical care and personal care, each up .3 percent, and reading and recreation, up one percent. Prices were higher for beer, movies, whiskey, face powder, television tubes and wine. College tuition fees and hospital room charges were also up. Cigarette prices were lower.

PROTECTING AND PRESERVING THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, responsibility to maintain and preserve public safety and public health in the National Capital, rests with the Congress of the United States. Negotiation of a site for the structure of temporary shelters in quantity, with attendant public health problems, sharply increasing local crowding in areas never intended for housing, is discrimination against the rights of all Americans each of whom have a share in their Nation's Capital.

Denial of a permit for such housing is not a denial of the right to peaceably assemble or protest or demonstrate. Far from it. There is a time and place for such activity allowed by law, but temporary shelters next to the National Mall is not such a place nor is the negotiation of such a permit by administration officials anything less than abdication of public responsibility. Congress should have acted here, and it should still act. In this connection I commend the reading of the following article, by Ernest Cuneo, appearing in the Manchester, N.H., Union-Leader of May 5, 1968:

POWERS OF CONGRESS USURPED: WHY SHOULD APPOINTEES NEGOTIATE WITH MARCHERS?

(By Ernest Cuneo)

WASHINGTON, May 4.—It has been widely advertised by its leaders that there will be a so-called Poor Peoples March on the Congress.

The Congress is to be notified of certain minimum demands. Upon failure to comply, the federal government is to be tied up with sit-ins.

Considering that the framers of the Constitution designed it so that the Congress would be the first of three great divisions of the American Republic, the present proceedings in Washington have long since passed travesty of constitutional law.

The Department of Justice, the Department of Interior and the District Government of Washington have been in constant conference with the leaders of the march. It appears that public parks will be allocated for camping grounds. Counsel is already organized for those arrested.

The most that can be said of the interpretation of the Department of Justice is that it appears to have confused the right peaceably to assemble with demonstrations at the will of the leaders of the march.

There is no such thing as a right to demonstrate. If, for example, the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick applied for permission to parade Fifth Avenue for so much as two days in a row, such application would be properly denied.

Moreover, the saint of all liberals, Mr. Justice Holmes having declared that free speech does not give the right to cry "fire" in a theatre, it follows that Stokely Carmichael or Rap Brown have no constitutional right to yell for the killing of white people during a riot.

Rioting and burning have taken place in the capital, as well as in other major cities. Quite aside from the persons of the Congress itself, the Library of Congress, containing the title deeds of the republic, along with other documents of immense importance are at the direct center of any widespread rioting on Capitol Hill. The Library of Congress is in trust for all of the world and for generations to come. It is, perhaps, the greatest repository of human knowledge in recorded history.

It was burned in 1814. If it were burned today, it would be a tragedy beyond measure for all of mankind.

It is strange, indeed, therefore, that the Congress itself, which has ultimate jurisdiction, has announced no rules and no procedures for the presentation of the petitions.

The Supreme Court has, the executive branch has but the legislative branch has not.

Should a group announce it would camp outside the Supreme Court until it reached certain decisions, there would be grave alarm.

Should a group declare that it would besiege the White House until certain executive orders were signed, the attempted intimidation of the presidency would receive little support.

But an actual announcement that Congress will be beset causes no ripple at all, and least of all in Congress.

SOLE JUDGE

Worse, the concerned executive departments far from referring the matter to the Congress, appear to be doing little less than mounting a siege of Capitol Hill.

It is within the power of Congress to define and prescribe rules by which citizens may assemble peaceably and petition it as befits their dignity, the dignity of Congress and the dignity of the Republic.

Constitutionally, the Congress is the sole judge of how it will conduct its business. There is no higher power in the land. Ac-

cordingly, certain of the executive departments and the district government, preposterously and presumptuously approach contempt of Congress when they aid and abet those who would interfere with the transaction of its business.

It is little less than an affront to the nation, let alone the Congress, that a handful of appointees, of little or no national status, have actually undertaken to negotiate conditions with the marchers, as if the capital were suing for peace with a powerful invader.

Congress, having the ultimate power, has also the ultimate responsibility for the safety of the capital.

IT IS TIME FOR TAX REFORM

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, everyone talks about the weather, but nobody can do anything about it. Everyone talks about taxes, but nobody does anything about it. Somebody can, however, do something about taxes.

The past 50 years have seen dynamic and drastic changes in the structure and activities of government at all levels. But, paradoxically, in a half century, we have permitted the means and wherewithal—our tax structure—to become archaic and replete with inequities.

The distressed call for an increase in taxes—or even the rare call for a decrease in taxes—is always accompanied by the suggestion that tax reform is overdue, a suggestion soon lost in the dust of those running for political cover or the loud overshadowing prophecies of fiscal peril of the proponents.

The following fine editorial in the May 12, 1968, Long Island Sunday Press points up the need for a "massive reappraisal of our entire tax system."

The editorial follows:

IT IS TIME FOR TAX REFORM

Last week was the week of taxes, and the news has been, from the taxpayer's point of view, all bad.

In Washington, the 10% tax surcharge has been approved by House-Senate conferees. To make taxpayers even more unhappy, it will be retroactive to April 1.

In Albany, income, gasoline and cigarette taxes are going up. (There is considerable criticism that they are not going up enough. Fearful of election-year reaction, the legislators evaded a considerable part of the state's fiscal problems by postponing payments to localities this year. We'll pay for this next year—but that's not an election year. This may be good politics, but it is frightful economics.)

In City Hall, Mayor Lindsay has unveiled higher real estate taxes and a revival of the auto use tax. He hasn't talked lately about an increase in the commuter income tax, but the threat hangs there, glaring balefully at Nassau and Suffolk residents who earn their living in the big city.

And in communities all over Long Island, school taxes will go up heavily, adding to a real estate tax burden that is already staggering.

Philip Gardella, a Kew Gardens Hills taxpayer responding to a Press survey summed up a widespread sentiment: "The tax load is getting too heavy to carry. If I try to dump

it, I'm a bum, and if I try to keep carrying it, I just may break my back. When is someone going to help the ordinary 9-to-5, five-day-a-week worker like me?"

It's a good question. When, indeed?

The question really cannot be answered, and something positive done, until we have brought the taxing system itself up to date. It is a mess of overlapping, duplicating, contradictory levies which hit many people unfairly and the middle class most unfairly of all.

Our tax structure is shot through with gross inequities and costly collection machinery. New York State, for instance, has dozens of different kinds of taxes. For the Long Islander, there are taxes due Albany, due New York City, due the school district, due the town and the county. One tax is based on how many cigarettes a man smokes, one on how much he drinks, another on how much gasoline he uses, another on his income, another on his real estate and on and on, each requiring governmental machinery to process. If there were a single tax collection each year, this wasteful overlapping could be eliminated, saving both the individual and government time and money.

Perhaps the greatest inequity to the middle class in our tax structure is the property tax itself. The family on a small income or a pension, for instance, pays the same property tax as neighbors who have much larger incomes. Thus, the essential fairness of the income tax is eroded by the real estate tax—and the sales and special use taxes, as well.

In time of inflation, these overburdened families hurt even more because the real estate tax goes up more than their ability to pay.

We need a massive reappraisal of our entire tax system. We haven't had one since the federal income tax was introduced in 1913. The answer might well be abolishing most local and state taxes, including a drastic modification of property taxes, and substituting a wider basic national tax based on ability to pay. This would require an equitable formula for allocation back to the states and localities for their own purposes. And it should include plugging those loopholes that legally allow a handful of men to make untaxed billions through depletion allowances.

This is a touchy political problem, of course, but this is the year to do it. We urge the President, who no longer need worry about political implications, to appoint a commission of outstanding Americans to study our outmoded tax system, to end its inequities and create the machinery needed to pay for the nation's massive and growing needs.

KANSAS JOINS IN OBSERVING NATIONAL SMALL BUSINESS WEEK

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the State of Kansas has joined with the rest of the Nation in observing National Small Business Week, May 12 to 18. The Honorable Robert Docking, Governor of Kansas, has issued a proclamation setting aside this week in Kansas to recognize the contribution made by the small businessmen of our State to the progress and well-being of all Kansans.

As a member of the Small Business Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee, I feel it appropriate to direct the attention of my

colleagues to the Kansas proclamation, and to assure businessmen everywhere that the Congress is aware of the importance of perpetuating the free enterprise system through the thousands of merchants on "Main Street" and the hundreds of manufacturing plants and business enterprises which make our communities prosper. Your success is the basis of the country's success, and we have an obligation to assist you in staying free and healthy and as untrammelled by government interference as possible. The proclamation follows:

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR

To the People of Kansas, Greetings:

Whereas, the small businessmen in this State, along with small businessmen throughout the Nation, actively perpetuate the open and competitive marketplace so vital to our free enterprise system; and,

Whereas, small businesses are close to the American consumer, providing much of the goods and the majority of the services we need in our daily lives; and,

Whereas, small businesses offer job opportunities for job seekers of all races and all creeds; and,

Whereas, small businessmen are recognized as leaders in the social and economic development of their own communities; and,

Whereas, small businesses are the source of many innovations in products and merchandising:

Now, therefore, I, Robert B. Docking, Governor of the State of Kansas, do hereby proclaim the week of May 12 through May 18, 1968, as Small Business Week in Kansas, and call upon the Chambers of Commerce, industrial and commercial organizations, board of trade and other public and private organizations to participate in ceremonies recognizing the contribution made by the small businessmen of this State to the progress and well-being of all our people.

Done at the Capitol in Topeka, under the Great Seal of the State this 23rd day of April, A.D., 1968.

ROBERT B. DOCKING,

Governor.

ELWELL M. SHANAHAN,

Secretary of State.

Mr. Speaker, the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., will be celebrating its 25th anniversary on Monday, May 20. I point to its achievements with special pride because the federation's home office is located in the district which I represent, San Mateo County, Calif.

The federation was founded in 1943 by C. Wilson Harder, who recently received the Small Business Administration's Public Service Award for outstanding service. This award is the highest honor the SBA bestows on individual citizens.

Today Mr. Harder's federation has grown to include nearly a quarter of a million members, making it the largest organization of its kind in the world.

Most of us are familiar with the federation through the efforts of its representatives on Capitol Hill and its publication, the Mandate. The Mandate carries with it a tear-off self-mailer ballot on pending legislation which each individual businessman fills out and which is forwarded to his Representative in Congress. I have received a number of these ballots, and find that they serve to keep me informed on many matters which otherwise might escape careful analysis. Important as they thus are to

the legislative process, these ballots, numbering more than 4 million each year, also serve to indicate the personal, active commitment to better government on the part of men of proven independence and ability.

The federation's expressed goal is that our Nation remain the land of opportunity by giving small business fair consideration. I am honored to commend the members and the leadership of the federation on their 25th anniversary of continuing success in promoting free enterprise and small business. I hope we in the Congress can join them in constant efforts to reform and cut back the cumbersome aspects of taxation, paperwork, and bureaucracy which so often occur under our democratic form of government.

A CITIZEN'S PROTEST

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from a constituent in Springfield, Mo., which I believe reflects growing public sentiment concerning the so-called Poor People's March in Washington. In writing, Mrs. Allen Jones of Springfield, Mo., asks the question—

Whose civil rights are being abused; the ones who are having their homes and businesses destroyed and robbed or the ones who are doing the looting and destruction?

It may come as some surprise to people not living in Washington to realize that the Washington riots have really never stopped. There have been an average of three or four fires set by arsonists each night. Mrs. Jones asks the question, Are you in Washington as helpless as I? It is a disgraceful reflection on the action of administration leaders that the answer seems to be "Yes."

The letter follows:

MAY 6, 1968.

HON. DURWARD J. HALL,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. HALL: As an American citizen I protest! I am a white American and I love my country. I do not want our leaders coerced into adopting socialized programs. I do not want our constitution abused! The riots make a mockery of the preamble of our constitution. My husband makes less money than most of the rioters of Washington. However we do not want government support. Can't these people see that everything they insist on the government doing for them takes away civil rights instead of insuring them? You may consider our family poor because my husband makes eighty dollars a week before anything is taken out. We think we are rich as long as we live in a free country. We think we are rich as long as we can hold our heads high because we are working for a living. We think we are rich as long as we have a police force we are paying to protect us. We think we are rich because we can go to church and read and worship God even in our home. We think we are rich because we can go anyplace in this country we want without asking the government's permission. We think we are rich because we can read and buy books. I could go on and name countless other reasons we are rich, but it is not necessary. There is one thing that has been taken away, security. My husband works at night and there was a time when

I was not afraid to be at home with my two children alone. Times have changed, now if I hear a rumor of Negro trouble in our town I am afraid. I saw a group of teen-age Negro boys walk down our street and again I was afraid. Why do I have to live in fear that a riot will come to our city or community. Why do the people who live in the most troubled areas have to live in fear of life and property all the time? Whose civil rights are being abused; the ones who are having their homes and businesses destroyed and robbed or the ones who are doing the looting and destruction? Why are the police made to look like villains in a melo-drama because they are doing their job and risking their life to uphold the law? Why are they now allowed to march on Washington and coerce our leaders? How helpless I feel as an American! I can see the danger of Communism looming in the near future but still I am helpless to stop it! I do love my country and I still hold our constitution dear. I believe in civil rights for everyone, not for a minority group who think civil rights means government support and the right to destroy and loot! Is there any hope? Are you in Washington as helpless as I?

Sincerely,

Mrs. ALLEN O. JONES.

DOES THE NAVY HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIE?

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, when I originally became interested in the case Lt. Comdr. Marcus A. Arnheiter over a year ago, my main concern was not to determine whether Arnheiter was innocent or guilty, but rather, to determine whether he had had his "day in court," whether he had, in fact, been given a fair hearing in accordance with the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

It was only after I determined that he had not received a fair hearing that I wrote to Secretary of the Navy Paul R. Ignatius and House Armed Services Committee Chairman L. MENDEL RIVERS. Both of these gentlemen replied that "no further inquiry was necessary" in this case.

However, there was ample evidence—including the statements of a number of high-ranking naval officers—which indicated that further inquiry was very necessary in this case. It was at this point that I decided to hold ad hoc hearings.

This inquiry, which I held last week, I believe, proved beyond any doubt, that Arnheiter was not given a fair hearing. In fact, the hearings proved that there was no longer any question of his guilt or innocence, because the Navy had, on three separate occasions, vindicated him.

Throughout the course of these hearings, I repeatedly gave the Navy the opportunity to participate. I urged them to send anyone they chose, to introduce any evidence they chose, to cross-examine any witnesses they chose. They refused.

Instead, they remained on the sidelines and said nothing. Then, after the hearings were concluded, and the Navy felt that it was safe from challenge and cross-examination, in order to counteract unfavorable publicity, they released to the press a statement containing some of the charges which had originally been

brought against Arnheiter, and which the Navy's own men had thrown out.

Proof of this is contained in the second endorsement of Vice Adm. Walter E. Baumberger, submitted November 1, 1966. This entire case and the Navy's behavior raises in my mind—and, I am certain, in the minds of many Americans—one very disturbing question. That question is—does the U.S. Navy have the right, for any reason, to lie to the American public?

I respectfully include Vice Adm. Baumberger's second endorsement in the RECORD at this time:

DOES THE NAVY HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIE?

(Second endorsement on Capt. Ward W. Witter, USN, 085147/1100, COMDESRON 11 INVESTRPT Ser 70 of April 27, 1966)

From: Commander Cruiser-Destroyer Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet.

To: Judge Advocate General.

Via: Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet.

Subject: Investigation to inquire into the circumstances connected with the relief of Lieutenant Commander Marcus A. Arnheiter, USN, 554819/1100, from command of USS Vance (DER 387), which occurred on or about 1 April 1966

Reference: (f) COMCRUDESPAC First Endorsement to COMCRUDESGRU, U.S.

Seventh Fleet 1tr ser 137 of 26 May 1966, Subj: Detachment of Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter from command of USS Vance (DER 387)

Enclosed: (35) Copy of reference (f)

1. Readdressed and forwarded.
2. In paragraph 11 of the Preliminary Statement to the Investigative Report the following statement appears:

"Due to the nature of this investigation, the Investigating Officer has not been able to fix in his mind how he can proceed from testimony, to facts, to opinions and end up at recommendations in the classical pattern of the normal investigation."

There appears an additional statement that many of the opinions are based on matter that could not feasibly be laid out in the "facts section". It is considered that had the Investigating Officer pursued his inquiry in accordance with the dictates of the convening order and conducted the proceedings in strict accordance with the provisions of reference (a), he may have avoided this dilemma.

3. An Investigation is a quasi-legal proceeding designed to determine facts, and, where appropriate, to state opinions based upon factual determinations, and to make recommendations as to the disposition of certain matters relative thereto. This Investigation was convened to inquire "into the circumstances connected with the relief of Lieutenant Commander M. A. Arnheiter from command of USS Vance (DER 287)." [It is evident that from its inception the Investigating Officer changed the purpose for which the Investigation was convened—that of determining the factual validity of allegations made against the commanding officer which had occasioned his summary relief—to one of whether he is "the type of officer who deserves command at sea."] . . . (Preliminary Remarks, para 8). It is not surprising, therefore, that in pursuing this objective the Investigating Officer found it necessary to hold long off-the-record "discussions" with Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter to get him to see "the overall problem" (Preliminary Remarks, para 6). Conceding that an inquiry for the purpose of the Investigation was convened is most difficult under ideal circumstances, [the Investigating Officer in his approach unwittingly compounded his already difficult task by injecting himself personally into the role of a "psychologist" rather than that of an impartial finder of fact. Indicative are his improper comments respecting Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter's "vicious exchanges" and "incredulous tones in responses." Well intentioned as

these "illuminating" remarks may be, they are completely improper in the context in which they appear in the record, and indicate a lack of objectivity on the part of the Investigating Officer. Further, the record is replete with instances in which the Investigating Officer either neglected or refused to pursue available evidence concerning specific allegations of misconduct. His findings of fact are for the most part based upon the unsubstantiated opinions of witnesses inimical to Lieutenant Commander Arnhelter.

Particularly noteworthy is the seeming disregard in the findings of fact and opinions of the prerogatives of a commanding officer, of the circumstances surrounding some of his admitted violations of regulations, and the sometimes less than adequate support he had a right to expect from his subordinates.

4. A reinvestigation of the allegations is not deemed practical by the Type Commander. Accordingly, an objective review of this record has been undertaken. Separate findings and opinions respecting incidents into which inquiry was made are submitted below. Additional findings, opinions and recommendations are likewise included. Only those portions of the Investigative Report and the First Endorsement thereto not in conflict with the following are approved. The remaining findings and opinions are disapproved.

5. Towing Motor Whale Boat.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That on one occasion during the exit from Song Cau Harbor the ship's motor whaleboat, containing 8 unidentified men and one unidentified officer, was towed behind *Vance* which was advancing at night at an alleged speed of 12 knots in a "choppy" sea. (Encl (22), pg. 20) (Encl (24), pg. 4)

b. That since *Vance's* aluminum boat davits had failed on the ship's last deployment the commanding officer alleges he attempted to tow the boat to save the boat davits and to save time consumed in lowering the boat. (Encl (24), pg. 4)

c. That on another occasion the "speed boat" was towed at night at a speed of 15 knots with one officer and two men embarked. (Encl (11), pg. 38) (Encl (22), pg. 20)

OPINIONS

a. That in the absence of testimony of those persons embarked in the boats, meteorological data, kind of line used, duration of time that boat was towed, nature or urgency of the operation which deemed towing of manned boats advisable, etc., there is insufficient evidence to make a determination of the propriety of these evolutions.

6. Abandonment of Ship's Motor Whale Boat.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That *Vance* departed the immediate vicinity of its motor whale boat at night on an undetermined date, in an unidentified area, for an undetermined period of time.

b. That *Vance* departed in order to pursue three unidentified junks. (Encl (9), pg. 3) (Encl (11), pg. 9)

c. That upon apprehending the junks they were tied alongside *Vance* and towed back into the bay where the motor whale boat was picked up. (Encl (11), pg. 9)

d. That the record does not contain ship's logs, charts, testimony of lookouts, testimony of persons embarked in the boat respecting what danger, if any, they were placed in, etc.

OPINIONS

a. That since the mission of *Vance* included pursuit and search of unidentified craft in its area, the evidence of record does not indicate that *Vance's* departure from its whale boat in this instance was improper.

7. Use and Acquisition of Speedboat.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That the allegation that the speedboat was used to draw enemy fire thus enabling

Vance to conduct gunfire support is completely without credible foundation.

b. That the use of speedboats for "patrols" involving search of junks was encouraged by the CORTRON Commander; the ship's motor whale boat was also used for such search and boarding of junks. (Encl (24), pg. 5)

c. The speedboat was used in many instances for recreational purposes.

d. That the speedboat was purchased with the consent of the ship's Welfare and Recreation Committee. (Encl (9), pg. 10 & 13) (Encl (11), pg. 35) (Encl (21), pg. 5) (Encl (22), pg. 21) (Encl (24), pg. 6)

OPINIONS

a. That there is no evidence indicating that the acquisition by *Vance* of the speedboat from ship's Welfare and Recreation Funds was improper, or that its limited use as a "scout boat" was censurable.

8. Causing False Position Reports to be Transmitted From the Ship Knowing Such Report to be False.

FINDINGS OF FACTS

a. That CSC Qui Nhon required ships operating locally to report their positions every two hours. (Encl (5), pg. 15)

b. That at 1400 and 1600 on an undetermined date in which *Vance* had followed the USS *Mason* (DD 852) which was proceeding to a gunfire support mission, the commanding officer caused a position "other" than *Vance's* actual position to be transmitted to CSC Qui Nhon. (Encl (5), pg. 15)

c. That Lieutenant Generous, the ship operations officer claims that other false positions were sent to CSC Qui Nhon by *Vance*. (Encl (5), pg. 15)

d. That CSC Qui Nhon was not in *Vance's* operational chain of command. (Encl (22), pg. 19)

OPINIONS

a. That the allegedly false posits noted in para b above related a lineal distance difference from the actual position of "several miles; about 10 miles". (Encl (5), pg. 15)

b. That the Commanding Officer, USS *Vance* considered that position reports to CSC Qui Nhon were unnecessary and not required.

c. That CSC Qui Nhon was at all times aware of the general area in which *Vance* operated. (Encl (24), pg. 4)

d. That the general area in which *Vance* operated extended about 105 miles North and South and about 40 miles East and West. (Encl (5), pg. 17)

e. That in the absence from the record of copies of the alleged false position reports ship's log entries, CSC Qui Nhon Regulations and OP-orders applicable to *Vance* it is impossible to determine the extent of the alleged false posits; and that in the absence from the record of any factual definition of CSC Qui Nhon's precise involvement in coastal operations, responsibilities, etc., it is impossible to determine whether the false posits, sent by *Vance* hampered related evolutions.

9. Delay in AN/SPS-10 Radar CASREP.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That on 31 January 1966, the commanding officer was first informed that the AN/SS-10, surface search radar, was not operating properly, i.e., the drive gear which caused the antenna to turn was slipping. (Encl (24), pg. 11)

b. That it was observed that the seas were rough at the time and that therefore the ship was not a stable platform. (Encl (5), pg. 24) (Encl (24), pg. 11)

c. That the commanding officer ordered that the radar not be used in heavy seas, but that it be placed in standby, for emergency use only. (Encl (24), pg. 11)

d. That the AN/SPS-8 radar was used in place of the AN/SPS-10. (Encl (20) pg. 2)

e. That on 7 February 1966 the command-

ing officer released *Vance* message 070400z which informed higher authority that AN/SS-10 performance was diminishing in heavy weather. (Encl (24), pg. 11)

f. That on 10 February 1966 the commanding officer released a message casualty report on the AN/SPS-10. (Encl (24), pg. 12)

g. That on about the 20th of February 1966 the radar was rendered operable by the ship's force through the jury-rig method, and, thereafter, it operated satisfactorily for about 45 days at which time the ship entered Manila. (Encl (20), pg. 1)

h. That the evidence of record relating to the precise status of the radar during the period 31 January to 10 February 1966, about 10 days, is not clear and in serious conflict. While some witnesses testified that the radar was totally inoperative during this period, (Encl (5), pg. 24; (Encl (20), pg. 1, pg. 2), the commanding officer alleges that it was only so due to his direction that the radar be placed in standby, for emergency use only (Encl (24), pg. 12). He further states that it was placed in the standby condition in order that the ship's technicians might be able to work on it and thereby effect repairs or accurately diagnose the situation as one beyond the repair capabilities of the ship's force (Encl (24), pg. 12).

i. That the commanding officer affirmatively asserts that at no time was the ship's capability adversely affected by the status of the AN/SPS-10 radar. (Encl (24), pg. 12); and that this contention is unrebutted by evidence of record.

OPINIONS

a. In view of the unequivocal fact that the radar was subsequently repaired at the commanding officer's urging, in a short period of time, and thereafter operated satisfactorily for over 45 days, and in the absence of any clear and convincing evidence that the radar was totally inoperative during the period in question, it is considered that the question of whether the radar was required to have been reported as a casualty is purely academic, and a matter properly within the prerogatives and judgment of the commanding officer. There being no showing to the contrary, it is considered that this incident should not be made the basis for criticism.

10. CTU 70.8.5 Request for list of onboard critical diesel parts

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That on about 13 March 1966 *Vance* received a message originated by CTU 70.8.5 requesting an accurate inventory of certain critical diesel parts on board. Lieutenant junior grade Edward G. Fuehrer, *Vance's* Engineering Officer, having prepared a message reply reflecting the actual number of parts aboard, expressed to the commanding officer that he hoped the ship would not be robbed of an adequate supply of spare parts. The commanding officer directed Lieutenant junior grade Fuehrer to list what he, Lieutenant junior grade Fuehrer, thought other DER's had. The commanding officer then released a message which did not reflect the actual number of spare parts aboard. (Encl (10), pgs. 5 & 6) (Encl (24), pg. 37).

OPINIONS

a. That although the messages released did not reflect the actual number of spare parts aboard, the extent of the messages misrepresentation cannot be determined. The commanding officer's stated purpose with respect to this irregularity, "was to make available. . . for redistribution the maximum number of such parts that, in the opinion of the (his) Engineering Officer, the ship could possibly provide without gravely undermining (the) ship's ability to carry out her assigned mission". (Encl (24), pg. 36).

b. That despite his stated purpose, the deliberate omission of a single item, in response to his Unit Commander's request, constitutes censurable conduct. However, since the extent of the misrepresentation is

unknown the degree of dereliction cannot be determined.

11. Gunfire Support Missions.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That on 30 January 1966, while searching junks, the *Vance* came upon the USS *Bache* which was conducting shore bombardment. The *Vance* inquired as to whether *Bache* required assistance and received a negative reply. *Vance* then proceeded up the coast several miles where she anchored. While scanning a nearby hill the commanding officer asserted that he saw something near a small hut on the hill. He fired an M-1 rifle at the location and thereafter directed that .50 caliber machine gun and 3/50 fire come to bear on the hut. The firing was of several minutes duration. (Encl: (10), pgs. 3 & 7) (Encl: (11, pg. 32) (Encl: (21), pg. 3) (Encl: (24), pg. 48).

b. That *Vance* conducted gunfire support in company with USS *Mason* on an undetermined date.

c. That it was understood that DER's could engage in naval gunfire when the following conditions existed:

(1) When U.S. or friendly forces are under fire, U.S. air or ground spotters are present, and naval gunfire is considered urgent.

(2) When assigned a preplanned fire mission by CTF 115.

OPINIONS

a. That the shore bombardment by *Vance* on 30 January did not fall strictly within the rules of engagement as specified by the Operation Order.

b. That *Vance's* shore bombardment in company with USS *Mason* was directed fire and within the rules of engagement. Accordingly, it is considered that this incident does not warrant criticism.

12. Material Acquisition.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That Lieutenant junior grade Williams, the weapons officer, at the direction of the commanding officer, procured 15 M-1 rifles in excess of the ship's allowance. In addition, the commanding officer directed procurement of .22, .38 and .30 caliber ammunition for which the ship had no allowance. (Encl (7), pg. 1) (Encl (24), pg. 14)

b. That the commanding officer directed the weapons officer to procure various items for the ship among which were 24 fifty-five gallon oil drums, to be used for target practice. That Lieutenant junior grade Belmonte eventually was assigned this task, but was unable to obtain authorization for the removal of oil drums that he located on the Naval Base in Guam. Thereafter, he caused them to be brought aboard *Vance* without authorization. (Encl (11), pg. 22)

c. That at the direction of the commanding officer, Lieutenant junior grade Robert H. Gynn, USNR, the supply officer purchased 100 rolls of polaroid, 26 Kodakcolor film mallers, 25 movie film mallers and 50 rolls of black and white "plus X" and an undetermined quantity of 8 millimeter movie film. These items were paid for out of the ship's Optar fund at a cost of about \$370.00. The film was expended on various shipboard evolutions, search and seizure of junks, and, allegedly, for other "intelligence purposes."

OPINIONS

a. That procurement of 15 M-1 rifles in excess of the ship's allowance was justified in that they were used to outfit the ship's special fire team. It is considered that exceeding the ship's allowance of such items is not improper where they are legally obtained for a lawful purpose.

b. That although the 24 fifty-five gallon oil drums were obtained without authorization, evidence of record does not support the contention that the commanding officer directed this illegal procurement.

c. That the purchase of about \$370,000 in film from Optar funds is authorized. Since the record does not establish that such an

expenditure for film prejudiced the ship's capability to procure other more critical items, and no evidence of record that the film was improperly used, the purchase of these items is not considered irregular.

13. Reduction of in-port watch to level below that required by Fleet Commander.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That Commander Seventh Fleet Instructions require that at least one-third of the crew be aboard at all times.

b. That prior to a mess night held while *Vance* was in Guam, Ensign Bernard O. Black was directed by the commanding officer to relieve Lieutenant W. T. Generous as command duty officer of *Vance* during the evening. (Encl (5), pg. 1 & 2) (Encl (8), pg. 1).

c. That Ensign Black, as command duty officer, was the only officer aboard for a period of about six hours during which the remainder of the ship's officers attended the mess night of the Naval Base Officers' Club. (Encl (22), pg. 17).

d. That Ensign Black was the ship's junior Ensign and had been aboard for about two months and had occupied the billets of Damage Control Assistant and R-Division Officer. (Encl (8), pg. 1).

e. That *Vance* was tied up to "Sierra" Pier with no ship outboard of her. (Encl (5), pg. 2 & 3).

f. That the engineering plant was in a cold-iron condition; *Vance* had no operational commitments; electrical power was being received from the pier. (Encl (5), pg. 2 & 3).

g. That there is no evidence that the enlisted manning fell to less than one-third or that the enlisted watch set was inadequate.

h. That Ensign Black had readily accessible telephone communications with the Officers Club where the commanding officer and the ship's officers were located. (Encl (5), pg. 3) (Encl (8), pg. 1).

i. That no problems, not easily handled, were encountered by Ensign Black.

OPINIONS

a. The violation of Fleet Regulations is not to be condoned. The "one-third" requirement is obviously designed to ensure a degree of readiness to meet emergencies. The nature of *Vance's* employment on that occasion, and the otherwise normal manning of inport watch stations tends to mitigate the violation, however.

14. Small Arms firing in the vicinity of junks.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That on various occasions the commanding officer did fire both rifles and pistols from the bridge in the vicinity of junks tied up alongside *Vance*.

b. That the commanding officer's targets on these occasions consisted of sea life in the area. (Encl (8), pg. 1).

c. That on one occasion the commanding officer fired "ahead" of a junk that had failed to heed the ship's signal to come alongside. (Encl. (15), pg. 3).

d. That without exception the testimony of record attests to Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter's outstanding marksmanship.

OPINIONS

a. Excepting the evidence described in paragraph 14c. above, the commanding officer's firing at sea life in the close proximity of junks alongside *Vance* was imprudent.

15. Signing a fraudulent survey report that was known to be false.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That on 5 February 1966 three large motorized junks entered *Vance's* area from the North. (Encl (10), pg. 4).

b. That *Vance* released a confidential message DTG 051242Z February 1966 concerning the encounter. (Encl (24), pg. 3).

c. That each of the junks contained about 30 persons, many of whom were children

who appeared to be in ill-health. (Encl (10), pg. 4&5) (Encl (24), pg. 3).

d. That the persons embarked on the junks, claiming to be refugees from a bombed out village, appeared to be hungry. (Encl (10), pg. 6) (Encl (24), pg. 3).

e. That upon being directed by the commanding officer to provide candy for the refugee children, the ship's Supply Officer, Lieutenant junior grade Gynn, informed the commanding officer that it could not be provided from the ship's store unless it was paid for. (Encl (10), pg. 5).

f. That the commanding officer directed the supply officer to provide a full day's supply of canned milk, fruit juices, bread, candy, and toilet paper. (Encl (24), pg. 3).

g. That the commanding officer later ordered the supply officer to survey the candy as "unfit for use" to cover its cost on the records, and that the survey form was signed by the commanding officer, supply officer, and the executive officer.

OPINIONS

a. That in the absence from the record of the *Vance* message, the survey form, the photographs, and testimony of the ship's hospital corpsman, the commanding and supply officers' versions of the incident must be accepted, and that while surveying the candy as "unfit for use" was improper—the insistence by Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter that food and candy be provided under the circumstances was justified and should not be made the subject of censure.

16. Introduction of Alcohol to the Wardroom.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That Lieutenant junior grade Gerald J. Prescott, USNR, was presented with a list of cooking wines and brandies that he was to procure for the wardroom (Encl (18), pg. 5). Subsequently, while in Subic Bay, Lieutenant junior grade Prescott purchased \$16.00 worth of cherry herring and sherry which was given to the executive officer upon his return to the ship. (Encl (18), pg. 5).

b. That the cherry herring, termed "Guamanian Guava Berry Juice" on the menu, and the sherry were poured over various types of desserts such as peaches, baked apples, strawberry short cake, etc. (Encl (5), pg. 22) (Encl (7), pg. 9).

c. That these alcoholic beverages were kept in the custody of the executive officer and dispensed at the direction of the commanding officer. (Encl (18), pg. 5).

d. That on Christmas, eggnog was provided that was "obviously spiked". (Encl (5), pg. 22).

OPINIONS

a. That the alcoholic beverages were not explicitly revealed as such to the wardroom officers.

b. That the alcoholic beverages did not produce any effects of intoxication or symptoms of the influence of alcohol upon wardroom officers. (Encl (5), pg. 23).

c. That other than the instance in which alcohol spiked eggnog was used on Christmas, no alcohol was introduced for beverage purposes.

d. That the commanding officer was personally responsible for introduction of said alcohol aboard USS *Vance* (Encl (24), pg. 28b), and felt that its use on gourmet dishes upgraded the etiquette and tastes of the wardroom officers.

e. That the introduction of alcoholic beverages for other than medicinal purposes for consumption aboard is contrary to Navy Regulations and cannot be condoned.

17. Alleged Mess Share Discrepancies.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That during the month of November the ship's galley was closed, but a mess bill was collected (Encl (18), pg. 2), which resulted in an increase in the value of the mess share. Although the galley was reopened in December, a mess bill was not collected for this

month in order to deplete the high mess share resultant from the month of November in which no expenditures were incurred (Encl (19), pg. 3). In January, at the direction of the commanding officer, the mess treasurer prepared two mess statements. One statement reflected the actual expenses of December, (excluding \$150.00 spent for a mess night in Guam) resulting in a mess share of \$18.00. The other statement reflected the actual expenses of December plus \$150.00 for the mess night, resulting in a mess share of \$7.14. (Encl (18), pg. 1) (Encl (14), pg. 6). The mess night in Guam, with its attendant \$150.00 expenditure, actually occurred in January. (Encl. (18), pg. 1) (Encl (14), pg. 6). The commanding officer elected to charge the December statement for the January mess night expenditure resulting in a mess share reduction from \$18.90 to \$7.14.

b. That the commanding officer, pursuant to arrangements made by the prior commanding officer, Lieutenant Commander Wright, remained a guest of the wardroom until 1 January, 10 days after he had assumed command. He joined the mess, however, after he made the election noted above which resulted in reduction of the mess share. The commanding officer then assessed himself an additional \$10.00, thereby realizing a "windfall" of \$1.85.

OPINIONS

a. That the commanding officer's change in procedures was affected in order that the mess bill for a particular month would be determined on the basis of anticipated expenditures for that month as opposed to collecting for such expenditures the following month.

b. That the commanding officer, as the mess president, may determine and effect methods and policies for management of wardroom funds as his judgment deems appropriate. Accordingly, while the reflection of a January expenditure on a December mess statement may constitute a form of "book juggling", it was manifestly within the prerogatives of the mess president to ordain that accounts will reflect anticipated future expenditures and that wardroom functions will be financed from existing wardroom assets rather than be the subject of a separate later assessment of individual members.

c. That the circumstances described do not indicate that the commanding officer was motivated in this instance by a desire to save himself \$1.85.

18. Violation of Ship's Store and Postal Regulations

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That the commanding officer, while officiating over the inspection of junks alongside *Vance*, requested that he be provided a pair of sun glasses. The ship's store operator reported to the bridge with several pair from which the commanding officer selected one pair, but did not tender payment at the time. (Encl (10), pg. 3) The commanding officer, however, personally paid for the sun-glasses later on the same day. (Encl (24), pg. 8)

b. On the occasion of the departure from the ship of a Vietnamese Liaison Officer, the commanding officer directed that the ship's store operator report to the bridge with a ship's cigarette lighter and some soap, which were subsequently given to the liaison officer. The commanding officer directed the ship's store operator to collect for the items from the proceeds of the "boner box". (Encl (24), pg. 8)

c. That following an evening meal it was discovered that the wardroom supply of cigars had been depleted. The commanding officer directed that the ship's store operator report to the wardroom with a box of cigars for the officers. Payment was not tendered immediately but was made on a later occasion from the proceeds of the "boner box". (Encl (10), pg. 3)

d. That upon assumption of command the commanding officer directed that he be provided postage stamps for the mailing of change of command announcements, directing the postal officer to find some authority for obtaining the stamps at government cost. During the next two and a half months the commanding officer repeatedly insisted that the stamps could be paid for by the government while the postal officer asserted that he was unable to find any authority for it. When the commanding officer became satisfied of the validity of the latter fact, he tendered \$11.57 to cover the cost of the stamps. (Encl (14), pg. 3 & 4) Prior to this event, the postal officer, Lieutenant junior grade Hamaker, had advanced his own private funds to cover the shortage, (Encl (22), pg. 3) yet no request had been made to the commanding officer for payment. (Encl (22), pg. 4)

OPINIONS

a. That in the above instances the letter of the law was violated. However, as the "credit" extended was minor in nature, not a continuing occurrence, and payment was always tendered, it is considered that there was no attempt or intent to defraud.

19. "Boner Box."

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. The "boner box", initiated by the commanding officer on about 10 January 1966, consisted of a small box into which the ship's officers were required to deposit a quarter (25¢) (to treat all other officers to cigars after dinner) each time they committed various infractions. The offenses for which fines were assessed were determined largely by the commanding officer; however, the "system" was administered by the executive officer. Some of the fines assessed are listed below:

Lieutenant junior grade Meisner.—Improper use of knife at meal—\$1.25; Coming to dinner in a sweaty shirt 25¢. (Encl (7), pg. 2)

Ensign Black.—Not taking enough navigational fixes. (Encl (8), pg. 3)

Lieutenant junior grade Gynn.—Substituting green beans on wardroom menu in place of asparagus. (Encl (10), pg. 1 & 2)

Lieutenant junior grade Belmonte.—Coming to 0900 briefings unshaven; improper uniform (wearing T-shirt in WP) (Encl (11), pg. 17); one of his men answering the commanding officer with "yes sir" vice "aye, aye, sir". (Encl (11), pg. 18)

b. The "boner box" system started about 3 to 4 weeks after Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter assumed command. During its tenure a total of about \$30.00 was collected which was spent primarily for cigars for the wardroom officers. (Encl (22), pg. 10) (Encl (24), pg. 4).

OPINIONS

a. In the majority of cases, the fines were assessed for repetition of the types of offenses noted above. (Encl (10), pg. 2) (Encl (22), pg. 43).

b. That the "boner box" was instituted by the commanding officer as a means of correcting breaches of etiquette and for the purpose of emphasizing his desire for more than merely adequate performance of duty.

c. That the wardroom officers did not object to the purpose of the "boner box", but rather to the means used to correct what in most cases were admitted infractions.

d. That once it came to the attention of the commanding officer that the "boner box" was resented, it should have been discontinued and other measures taken to correct the officers concerned. In the absence of consent by all the wardroom officers the "boner box" concept approaches imposition of punishment without the procedural guarantees set forth in Article 15, UCMJ.

20. Moral Guidance Lectures.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That the commanding officer initiated a program of conducting "moral guidance" lectures on the fantail on Sunday mornings, at which attendance of the officers and men was compulsory. Various members of the

crew, as well as some of the officers, objected to attending these sessions on the grounds that they were religious in nature and infringing upon the right to free exercise of religion. As the program proceeded, however, the commanding officer played a less active role, various members of the crew being selected to give presentations on subjects relating to morals, leadership, naval character, marriage, and conduct ashore. (Encl (6), pg. 3) (Encl (10), pg. 12) (Encl (11), pg. 21).

OPINIONS

a. That although the nature of the initial lectures did have religious overtones, the tenor of the program subsequently changed to conform with the spirit of General Order 21 to which objection could not reasonably be raised.

21. Alleged Disproportionate Expenditures of Welfare and Recreation Funds.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That the commanding officer directed expenditure of Welfare and Recreation funds for the following:

(1) Bus tours of the island of Guam.
(2) Ship's dinner party for the crew in Guam.

(3) Transportation to and from Chapel on Sundays in Guam.

(4) Transportation to swimming pools in Guam.

(5) Beach picnics in Guam.

(6) Tours of Bangkok.

(7) Steak dinners and beer for the crew at the EM Club in Bangkok.

(8) Hiring of independent taxi in Bangkok, controlled by the executive officer, and available for the crew's use.

(9) Hotel accommodations in Bangkok, for officers, chief petty officers, and also used by some enlisted men.

OPINIONS

a. That the commanding officer personally arranged for the preceding recreational activities for the crew in the almost complete absence of recommendations, or action on the part of the Welfare and Recreation Council itself. The two wardroom mess nights were financed exclusively by the wardroom mess. Although Welfare and Recreation funds were not spent on a strictly per capita basis in Bangkok, the preponderance of evidence does not support the insinuation that such funds, overall, were disproportionately expended.

b. There is no evidence of impropriety in the expenditure of Welfare and Recreation funds.

22. Alleged Irregularities of Recommendations for Awards and Medals.

FINDINGS OF FACT

a. That the commanding officer recommended certain officers and men of the *Vance* for various awards and medals. The executive officer recommended the commanding officer for a Silver star.

OPINIONS

a. That, although the record contains many references and allegations that the executive officer was coerced into recommending Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter for an award, the record contains no credible evidence in support of a contention that the recommendations for medals and awards for either the commanding officer or members of the crew were in fact coerced or executed in bad faith.

23. In enclosure (3) the propriety of the procedures utilized by the convening authority in effecting Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter's relief is questioned by his counsel. The same issue was raised by Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter in his reply to the convening authority's letter to the Chief of Naval Personnel requesting sustainment of Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter's relief. For the reasons set forth in paragraph 3 of the First Endorsement thereto, reference (f), the Type Commander is of the opinion that although this investigation does not contain

sufficient proof of misconduct to justify Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter's relief for cause, the allegations made against him under the conditions then pertaining, justified his relief under the provisions of Articles C-7801, subparagraph 4(d)(2) of reference (b). The foregoing notwithstanding, however, the Type Commander is of the further opinion that the record is clear that sufficient time did exist to have disclosed to Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter the general nature of the allegations at the time he was relieved.

24. A review of the proceedings of this Investigation reveals that during Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter's tenure as commanding officer of *Vance* he exhibited a lack of tact and good judgment in his attempt to achieve commendable goals. It is obvious that many of his methods were not understood and, thus, not supported by some of his subordinates. It is clear that there existed a severe personality conflict between Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter and his operations officer, Lieutenant Generous. With respect to this, Lieutenant Generous' performance was colored to a degree intolerable to Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter, and the overtones resulting undoubtedly contributed greatly to the low state of morale on the part of some of the officers in *Vance*. Inasmuch as the foregoing is in large measure conjectural it is considered that this trait, if other than a personality conflict, will be revealed in Lieutenant Generous' future performance. No further inquiry into this matter as it relates to this case is deemed feasible or desirable. The Type Commander's views on this and other related matters in this case are contained in reference (f).

25. The Type Commander recommends.
- a. That Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter's relief for cause not be sustained, but that his relief from command of *Vance* be sustained as for investigation in light of the circumstances then existing.
 - b. That in view of all the circumstances surrounding this case, that no disciplinary action be taken with respect to those allegations which were proven or admitted.
 - c. That Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter not be restored to command of *Vance*.
 - d. That, for the reasons cited in reference (f), he be reassigned to command a DE in this Force to provide an opportunity for reassessment of his abilities.
26. Subject to the foregoing, the proceedings of this Investigation, are approved.

THE REVEREND DAVID A. SWANSON,
GUEST CHAPLAIN IN THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to sponsor on yesterday the Reverend David A. Swanson, guest chaplain for the day in the House of Representatives.

Reverend Swanson is pastor of the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church at Wyandanch, N.Y., in the New York Second Congressional District. He is a native son of Cleveland Heights, Ohio, a graduate of Upsala College, and the Lutheran School of Theology at Rock Island, Ill.

Prior to his present assignment, Reverend Swanson served at St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Milton, Ky., and a 2-year enlistment with the U.S. Armed Forces.

He brings to my district a new activist spirit and drive for accomplishment not only in his own parish but in our entire community; and yesterday he charged us to be alert to the myriad problems which surround us, to have a compassionate eye and ear for those in difficulty, and to look for constructive solutions for them.

His prayer reads as follows:

Great God, we call this solemn assembly to session not necessarily in Your name, but it is in Your world; something hard for us to admit, and a world hard for You to recognize. We ask that we might have the intestinal fortitude not to be bent over by the pressure of inhuman vested interest; that we have the backbone to stand straight for honest justice; that You pull the plugs out of our ears that we might hear the cries of Your people from the streets of our constituencies; from the nations of Your world; and finally that we may govern as instruments of solutions, not as instruments of problems. For God's sake. Amen.

TEACHING THE VALUE OF
LAW AND ORDER

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, implicit in the disorder, disobedience, and virtual insurrection prevalent on so many of the campuses of America at this hour, is the failure over prior years to teach young Americans the strength of precept and principle. Illustrative of this continuing failure of the teaching process is a "teacher's guide" currently being circulated by the Washington, D.C. Teacher's Union, and described in some detail in the following article by John Lofton appearing in the May 8, 1968, issue of the *Manchester, N.H., Union-Leader*.

The article follows:

WATCHING WASHINGTON: CALL TEACHERS
GUIDE "RATIONALE FOR RIOTS"
(By John Lofton)

WASHINGTON.—FOR persons looking to education as the ultimate solution to this country's racial problems, a most disappointing document is being circulated here among teachers in the District of Columbia.

Euphemistically entitled, "Why Did Washington Burn? A Relevant Lesson Plan and Resources for District of Columbia Teachers," the information contained within the publication is nothing less than a rationale for riots.

Put out by the Washington Teacher's Union, which is the bargaining agent for all teachers in D.C., the "Lesson Plan" begins: "The brutal murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., demands that teachers everywhere continue to confront the issue of racism in the classrooms. As we all know, the murder of Dr. King should not really be a shock to America, for he is only one of the many freedom fighters who have died at the hands of a white racist society in recent years." (In other words, kids, we are going to discuss the murder of Dr. King but one shouldn't get too worked up about it since assassination of black people is really nothing new for Mr. Charley.)

NO "LAW" OR "ORDER"

Under the first topic of discussion, Vocabulary, the "Lesson Plan" lists among other words, "revolution, rebellion, insurrection,

racism, uprising, soul brother, and black power." (Nowhere are the words law, order, responsibilities.)

Under the second topic, "Violent Events in the Contemporary Freedom Struggle," the Plan lists the deaths of Emmet Till in Mississippi in 1956 and others through the death of Dr. King in 1968. (The death of Malcolm X is also mentioned which is odd since Malcolm X was shotgunned by three members of the Black Muslim sect.)

Topic three addresses itself to approaches to resolving the problem of racism in the U.S. with an admonition that those discussing non-violence might find it "very worthwhile" to discuss Dick Gregory's comment that: "Those concerned about justice should start talking about Dr. King's purpose, not about his method." (The idea here presumably is to soft pedal the importance of the non-violent method and concentrate more on aims.)

CATFISH AND OTHERS

Topic four deals with contemporary forces in the black community and lists among others: Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Malcolm X, Rufus (Catfish) Mayfield (former head of the federally funded Pride, Inc., summer job program who just recently said regarding the riots that he had to criticize his own people for the destruction they did in their own neighborhoods. "But I have to applaud some of them," grinned Catfish, "they did go downtown for the first time."), Floyd McKissick and Adam Clayton Powell. The only person who could even be remotely classified as a moderate on the list of 24, was Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP. Whitney Young, head of the National Urban League, wasn't even listed.

And now we get to the juicy parts of the "Lesson Plan." Part Five is "Washington, D.C., April 1968—Civil Disorder or Insurrection?" On the subject of looting, the plan asks the question: "What about the store owners who have overpriced their goods for years in the black communities?"

BARGAIN OR FIGHT

As for the term "black power," one is referred to a Dr. Charles Hamilton who is quoted in the *New York Times* as saying, "And it must be clear that whites will have to bargain with blacks or continue to fight them in the streets of the Detroit and Newark." (And people like Floyd McKissick just can't understand why whites look upon black power as a violent doctrine.)

Part six deals with history and seeks rationalizations for the recent riots.

"In one of his last talks in Washington, D.C., Dr. King told his audience he was not unmindful of the concentration camps the U.S. established for the Japanese-Americans during World War II. This point could be discussed," advises The Plan, "particularly if raised in connection with what has happened to the American Indians. This whole subject raises the question of racial genocide. One should not overlook the rape or 'looting' of Africans from their homeland by the white slave traders who began the tradition of racism in the U.S." (One can bet money, however that those blacks who sold blacks will be overlooked.)

GUERRILLAS IN 1776

And now we come to perhaps the most tortured analogies in the entire document: The comparison of the American Revolution, 1776, and the "Freedom Movement Revolution," 1968.

Just hitting the high spots, The Plan tells us that those Americans who participated in the Boston Tea Party were "looters," that Americans involved in the battle of Lexington and Concord were engaged in "guerrilla warfare" and were "snipers," and that those precipitating the Boston Massacre were "inciting a riot."

"Who is interested in preserving order?" asks The Plan. "Is it the current people who

have power and do not want any social change? Do these same people who want order violate civil rights laws every day? Finally, should we even discuss law and order in the same context?"

And herein lies the ultimate danger: That law and order, due to a constant excoriation by some Negro leaders, will become to be looked upon by black people as a white, middleclass value.

When and if this ever comes about, any hope for a conciliation between the races will truly be lost.

CONGRESS AND THE CRIME WAR

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, since the opening day of this session of Congress I have spoken out on the growing problem of crime in this country. I have cosponsored the President's safe streets and crime control bill, and have sponsored other legislation relating to crime and its consequences. Most of all I have tried to speak rationally on the causes of crime, the differences between crime and political protest and dissent, and the danger of undermining fundamental constitutional protections for the law-abiding citizen in our effort to control the lawbreaking citizen.

Much more needs to be said on all of those matters. In the other body, extended debate is taking place on numerous proposals purporting to relate to the problems of crime, in connection with amendments to S. 917. The Los Angeles Times, Monday, May 6, 1968, in the manner which has come to be characteristic of its editorial page, has spoken out clearly and reasonably on the good and bad aspects of this legislation and the amendments being proposed. Many of us in Congress who strongly desire to strengthen law enforcement and reduce crime may find ourselves unable to support a bill which is encumbered with provisions of dubious worth and doubtful constitutionality.

I commend this editorial to my colleagues as worthy of their careful review and consideration, as follows:

CONGRESS AND THE CRIME WAR

America is clearly losing the war against crime and violence within its own borders.

The richest, most powerful nation in the world is still unable to deal with ever-increasing lawlessness or with the conditions in which it flourishes.

Escalation of serious crime far exceeds both population gains and the ability of local law enforcement to mount an effective counter-attack. In slightly more than one year, such crime has increased a chilling 16% throughout the country.

Making U.S. streets safe, therefore, has high priority in the Congress and in the Administration. Although there is deplorable division on meeting the terrible challenges of inequality and poverty, strong support exists in both the House and Senate for action to control crime and violence—whether they be the acts of a lone criminal or a rioting mob.

There is considerable disagreement, however, over the specific steps that Congress should take to protect the public. An example is S. 917, the Omnibus Crime Control and

Safe Streets act, now being debated by the Senate.

The product of prolonged sessions by the Senate Judiciary Committee is an admixture of good, weak and bad provisions.

There can be no argument over the need for improving and expanding the crime control efforts by the states and local units of law enforcement. Although the fight against crime must always remain an essentially local responsibility, the federal government should provide more support in a variety of ways.

Title I of the Senate bill authorizes the spending of \$400 million over a two-year period on upgrading state and local law enforcement through grants for planning, training, facilities and research.

The remainder of the bill is far more controversial, particularly the highly dubious restrictions on the U.S. Supreme Court's powers of review and the loosening of restraints upon electronic eavesdropping in criminal cases.

But, Title IV of the bill—the long-awaited curbs on interstate traffic in firearms—definitely needs strengthening to include rifles and shotguns in the prohibition of interstate mail order sales.

The Times opposes those sections that would deny to federal courts the right of review of state court decisions dealing with the voluntariness of confessions and the admission of eyewitness testimony as evidence. Although landmark decisions have made the work of the police more difficult, the Senate Judiciary Committee has proposed cures that weigh far too heavily against the accused.

Committee members also went too far in easing bugging rules. Electronic interception would be permitted in cases involving national security, organized crime and certain state crimes upon the granting of court order.

The Times believes that the right of privacy is so precious that only in instances of a threat to national security is electronic surveillance justified.

These defects should be corrected by the Senate to protect the public from danger while not endangering the public's rights. And the members should then turn to finding ways in which the conditions of poverty, discrimination, ignorance and slum housing—the breeding places of crime—can be eradicated.

HATS OFF TO MARYLAND

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, every individual freedom-loving American rejoices at the rejection by Marylanders of a proposed new radical constitution.

This was an historic stroke for liberty—a good sign of the awakening of our people.

The Marylanders—subjected to formidable pressures—just were not brainwashed—educated per some—to vote to deny themselves their right to vote for their officials.

Had Maryland accepted this 1313 model constitution—symbolically a tribute to the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights Year—every other State would have immediately come under a well-synchronized attack to surrender individual rights to an unelected minority control by a similar constitutional revision.

Obviously, the majority of Marylanders

were repulsed with the idea that their State was being used as an experimental laboratory and their people as guinea pigs.

Our hats are off to Maryland.

I include news clippings from Washington for May 15, as follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
May 15, 1968]

MARYLAND VOTERS REJECT NEW CHARTER—
ONLY DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SUBURBS IN
FAVOR

(By Richard Homan)

Maryland's proposed new constitution was decisively defeated yesterday as voters in all but the two suburban Washington counties rejected it.

With virtually all of the State's surprisingly heavy vote reported, the new constitution was defeated by nearly a 3-to-2 margin.

With all but one of 1535 precincts reporting, the unofficial statewide vote for and against ratification of the new constitution was:

For (43.6 percent).....	283,048
Against (56.4 percent).....	366,438

Montgomery County (107 of 107 precincts):

For (70.5 percent).....	68,832
Against (29.5 percent).....	26,251

Prince Georges (97 of 97 precincts):

For (61.2 percent).....	44,190
Against (38.8 percent).....	27,968

The statewide turnout of more than 600,000 voters—nearly 50 percent of the 1.4 million registered—far surpassed all predictions. In a special election a year ago for delegates to the Constitutional Convention, only 20 per cent voted and in the hotly contested 1966 gubernatorial primary election, 60 per cent voted.

It was a stunning setback for the State's political, civic and business leadership, which heavily supported ratification of the document.

Voting on the Maryland document, drafted during a four-month convention, that ended in January, came after successive defeats of proposed new constitutions by voters in Kentucky, Rhode Island and New York.

Conventions in Pennsylvania, Connecticut and New Jersey successfully revised portions of their state constitutions.

Government experts throughout the Nation had predicted that, if Maryland's new constitution failed, the future would be dim for constitutional revision by the convention method.

A heavier than expected vote in the State's rural areas, failure in the Baltimore area and unexpectedly small favorable margins in the Washington suburbs caused the defeat.

Prince Georges voters supported it by a 3-to-2 margin and Montgomery supported it 7 to 3, but their votes could not offset margins that ran as high as 7-to-1 against the document on the rural Eastern Shore.

Supporters of the constitution had hoped Prince Georges would favor it by a 3-to-1 margin, and were looking for Montgomery to go 4 to 1.

They were not surprised by the Baltimore City outcome—7 to 6 against—nor that of populous Baltimore County, where voters turned it down by a whopping 2-to-1 vote.

Supporters feared Anne Arundel would reject the document, but not by the lopsided 2-to-1 margin the final count showed.

There were immediate discussions among proponents of constitutional reform about the possibility of piecemeal revision of the present 1867 Constitution.

Several sections of the proposed document were non-controversial and, if approved by

the General Assembly in a special session, they could go before voters in the fall general election.

The argument has been made, however, that the document's proposals were too interwoven into an integrated structure of government to be considered separately without unbalancing power among the three major branches.

If the governor does not convene a special session, the General Assembly could next consider amendments to the present constitution at its regular session in January, 1969. Amendments proposed then would go on the 1970 ballot.

Gov. Spiro T. Agnew, one of the new constitution's strongest supporters, and Constitutional Convention President H. Vernon Eney both professed surprise and disappointment at the outcome.

"The people of Maryland have spoken and while I view the results of today's election with deep disappointment, I submit that it demonstrates the great strength of our democratic system," Agnew said.

He said that the "need for constitutional reform goes on" despite the defeat and he urged that sections of the document be considered again.

Eney said he was "very, very disappointed and frankly very puzzled," and felt the opponents had used "fears and half truths" to defeat the document.

It was the first time in Maryland's history that voters defeated a proposed constitution. The first State constitution took effect by decree in 1776 but the 1851, 1864 and present 1867 constitutions were all ratified by the voters handily.

Though the proposed constitution was approved by 133 of the 142 delegates who drafted it, along with a solid majority of the State's government, political, civic and business leadership, loosely organized opponents successfully campaigned against it.

They appealed to traditional fears of higher taxes, bigger government and undue change.

There was no single divisive item in the document, but its elimination of several elected county offices from constitutional status provided a nucleus of opponents to lead the campaign for rejection.

Statewide associations of sheriffs, registers of wills and court clerks campaigned against it, arguing that by making their jobs statutory—and possibly appointive—the new constitution was removing government from the voter.

Their arguments focused on:

The cost of implementing the document. While two State-fiscal agencies estimated the initial cost at \$3 million, opponents charged that the document would cost taxpayers as much as \$153 million.

Elimination of some local offices, such as sheriff, register of wills and county surveyor, as constitutional offices. Opponents charged that while these offices could be continued by the legislature, the electorate would have lost the right to select their officers.

New powers for the governor, which opponents asserted could make him a dictator.

Creation of regional governments, which opponents said would reduce local autonomy and add new taxes.

Raising the number of petitioners necessary to place a law on referendum from 3 per cent of the number voting in the last gubernatorial election to 5 per cent. Opponents said this would make referendums a practical impossibility.

Single member districts: Opponents said this would make legislators more parochial, and that it would be easier for special interests to control elections.

Reduction of the size of the legislature, which would leave several counties without a delegate of their own.

Opposition groups operated on a shoe-

string, while supporters, heavily financed by leading state businesses, mounted a smooth campaign of radio spots, speakers and brochures.

Besides Agnew and his two living predecessors, the proposed constitution had the active support of both U.S. Senators, seven of the eight Congressmen and the Republican and Democratic leaders of both houses of the legislature.

Arrayed against it, besides the courthouse officials in most counties, were legislators from sections of the State under strong Democratic organization control.

Supporters had predicted that a heavy turnout would help them—but they were wrong. Turnout was uniformly heavy throughout the State, and it brought lopsided margins against the proposed constitution in most counties.

The new constitution was an attempt to strengthen and streamline state government and thus permit it to meet contemporary needs.

It would have given the governor new appointive and administrative powers and would have created the office of lieutenant governor. It would have allowed the legislature to meet longer and more frequently and would have established a unified, centrally administered court system with judges named by citizen commissions rather than patronage.

It would have lowered the voting age to 19 and strengthened local government by requiring counties to exercise home rule.

The convention that wrote the new constitution was widely representative of the State's legal, political and civic establishment.

Tawes and former U.S. Sen. J. Glenn Beall were members, as were two former U.S. Congressmen and State Senate President William S. James.

Two college presidents, a former Court of Appeals judge, the head of the state NAACP and the past president of the Maryland League of Women Voters were among the delegates.

The 142 convention delegates were elected on a nonpartisan ballot in June, 1967, with apportionment among counties on the same basis as the House of Delegates.

Before the convention opened, a 21-man commission of top State civic and political figures appointed by Tawes and headed by Eney worked more than two years.

CHARTER VOTE RUNDOWN

Here is a breakdown of the statewide vote for and against the proposed new constitution by Maryland's 23 counties and Baltimore City:

	For	Against
Allegany County: 46 of 46 precincts	3,694	12,537
Anne Arundel: 65 of 65 precincts	15,816	31,007
Baltimore County: 273 of 273 precincts	45,248	88,484
Calvert: 10 of 10 precincts	1,117	2,021
Caroline: 11 of 11 precincts	808	2,383
Carroll: 30 of 30 precincts	2,825	9,112
Cecil: 13 of 13 precincts	1,326	6,512
Charles: 11 of 11 precincts	1,854	4,419
Dorchester: 24 of 24 precincts	1,278	4,392
Frederick: 78 of 79 precincts	3,876	9,972
Garrett: 22 of 22 precincts	900	2,436
Harford: 19 of 19 precincts	6,137	10,487
Howard: 13 of 13 precincts	3,920	5,779
Kent: 11 of 11 precincts	486	2,852
Montgomery: 107 of 107 precincts	62,832	26,251
Prince Georges: 97 of 97 precincts	44,190	27,968
Queen Annes: 9 of 9 precincts	907	2,958
St. Marys: 20 of 20 precincts	2,106	3,025
Somerset: 23 of 23 precincts	1,042	3,452
Talbot: 21 of 21 precincts	1,714	3,643
Washington: 43 of 43 precincts	4,150	12,285
Wicomico: 22 of 22 precincts	2,888	6,834
Worcester: 11 of 11 precincts	1,010	2,833
Baltimore City: 555 of 555 precincts	72,874	84,796
Total: 1,534 of 1,535 precincts	283,048	366,438

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 15, 1968]

DEFEAT OF CONSTITUTION STUNS TOP MARYLAND OFFICIALS

(By Peter A. Jay)

Maryland's top officials, most of whom supported and campaigned for the rejected new constitution, were shocked by the margin of the charter's defeat yesterday and pessimistic about major constitutional reform for years to come.

Leaders of the unsuccessful campaign for ratification, who had almost uniformly predicted that a heavy turnout would guarantee their victory, attributed their stunning defeat to an opposition that played upon the fears of a generally conservative electorate wary of change.

Gov. Spiro T. Agnew and other officials suggested that an effort should be made to incorporate some of the defeated charter's provisions in the existing 1867 Constitution through legislative action, but the size of yesterday's vote left even the most ardent advocates of reform with little hope for the success of such a move.

"It would be an exceedingly difficult task to salvage parts," said H. Vernon Eney, president of the convention that drafted the charter. "To do the work of the convention in bits and pieces would take years."

Eney, who worked four years in behalf of a new constitution, came close to bitterness when he spoke of the tactics of the charter's opponents. "They played on fears and half-truths," he charged.

Opponents and proponents alike agreed that the referendum campaign had touched a great spring of resentment in the voting public, but they disagreed about what that resentment meant.

"Two things defeated it," said St. Mary's Circuit Judge Philip H. Dorsey, Jr., a delegate to the convention and one of the charter's most outspoken opponents.

"People didn't want to lose their right to elect their leaders, and they didn't like the cost of it." The proposed charter would have eliminated as constitutional offices such elected courthouse positions as register of wills, court clerk and sheriff—all courthouse officials who worked hard to get a heavy turnout against the proposed document.

Prince George's County Sheriff William J. Kersey, president of the Maryland Sheriff's Association, said he was "very exuberant" over the defeat of the charter. The proposed constitution, Kersey said, was a product of "so-called powerful machine elements" that used "high-pressure salesmanship" to seek its passage.

Preparation of the defeated constitution cost the State about \$4 million. Estimates of the cost that its ratification would have added to the operation of State government varied from \$2.5 million to \$153 million.

"This is a tough year, a tough time," said J. Hardin Marion, the convention delegate who directed the ratification campaign. "There's a great fear of tax increases, departure from the status quo, any kind of a change."

"The people are upset by the urban crisis. This is a way of flailing back," guessed Carlton R. Sickles, chairman of Prince George's County's delegation to the convention.

It was this resentment against what opponents considered an urban-led reform drive, Sickles and many other former convention delegates said last night, that brought out the heavy vote against the charter which included regional government and anti-discrimination provisions.

Agnew, in suggesting that the General Assembly move to see what could be salvaged from the wreckage of the charter, said he did not "believe that the failure of this particu-

lar constitution can be interpreted as a failure for constitutional reform.

"... it is my hope that the Legislative Council of the General Assembly will shortly consider ways in which we can achieve at least the most imperative reforms through the customary legislative action."

Normally, the Legislative Council would recommend legislation to the next regular session of the General Assembly in January, 1969. Agnew's statement gave no indication that he favored calling a special session to get proposed changes on the ballot this November as amendments to the present Constitution.

House Speaker Marvin Mandel (D-Baltimore) said the Council, the between-sessions arm of the legislature, would "sit down with opponents and proponents and give this thing a cold, hard look." Constitutional changes, he said, "will have to come slowly."

Marion and Eney both agreed that the charter's defeat means that, in Marion's words, "We're stuck with the 1867 Constitution for a generation."

Elizabeth Barnes, the head of the Save Our State (SOS) organization, which led the fight against ratification, said only that she was "very gratified. It was just what I anticipated."

Constitution supporters said they had expected to meet resistance at the polls, but that the size of the opposition vote caught them off guard.

"I'm frankly very puzzled," Eney said. "I thought if we got a turnout of at least 25 per cent of the voters we would win." The actual turnout was nearly 50 per cent.

A GOOD DAY'S WORK FOR A GOOD DAY'S PAY

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, the first contingent of "poor people" has arrived in our Nation's Capital and is now in the process of building their proposed "shantytown" in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial.

Part of the so-called Poor People's Campaign, as I understand it, is to secure jobs for those who are poverty stricken. I have recently received a letter from a North Carolina employer, that I would like to share with any who might come in contact with any of the poverty marchers. There are five jobs available to any who are willing to work.

And, some of those now marching from the South toward Washington could save themselves the trouble of coming here—if they want a job. They could stop in Raleigh and secure employment by indicating to Mr. Griffin their willingness to work for a living.

The letter I wish printed in the RECORD is but one of many such pleas I have heard orally from employers, many of whom seek in vain for willing workers. Many of these employers I have talked with do not require any level of skill. All they want are those who are willing to give a good day's work for a good day's pay. In spite of every effort they make to find such employees, they are unavailable.

The letter I refer to follows:

RALEIGH, N.C.,
May 13, 1968.

HON. H. R. KORNEGAY,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I could save at least five (5) Poverty Marchers a long trek to Washington and weeks of inconvenience of living in Shanty-Town on the Mall in Washington if they would accept a job as a semi-skilled worker at \$1.62½ per hour, 40 hours per week. This would be a permanent job for males in good health and willing to work.

For the past year and one-half, we have had these jobs open and have been unable to fill them. We have advertised in the newspapers, on billboards, contacted the unemployment offices and private employ-agencies. It would certainly seem that from the vast number of unemployed that are reported in the press and other news media that we could find five (5) people who would want to work. If you should personally meet any of the Poverty Marchers while they are in Washington who are interested in a job in Raleigh, please refer them to me.

Very truly yours,

J. S. GRIFFIN, Jr.

HOUSING SHORTAGE

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Bay City Times, Bay City, Mich., a publication which serves a large area in Michigan's Eighth District, focuses a special emphasis on our Nation's housing problem which has generally been overlooked. The editorial, printed on May 13, 1968, points out that despite the highest wages ever, the building trade has a tremendous shortage of workers.

The newspaper then touched on another disturbing development which has received little publicity. The Department of Labor has announced that 3,340 carpenter apprentices finished a 4-year program in 1966 but that nearly twice as many trainees—7,168—dropped out of the program before it ended. This, again, despite such attractive wages.

President Johnson has called for 6,000,000 new low-income housing units in the next 10 years. While it is indeed very questionable whether money will be available, there is no question whatsoever that there simply is not sufficient labor on hand to take care of such an ambitious Federal program, along with private construction.

The editorial touches on the possibility of automation for the building trade which should be of interest to all Members. The complete editorial follows:

HARSH REALITIES IN HOUSING LAG

If the nation is to build as many dwellings in the next 50 years as it did in the first 150, as population experts say it must; or even if it is to provide only six million new low-income housing units within the next 10 years, as President Johnson says it must, then something is going to have to give.

The long-depressed housing industry continues in a slump aggravated by three main

factors—soaring prices and financing costs, rising labor costs and a worsening shortage of labor.

The money pinch is no news to any person currently buying, or thinking of buying, a new or used home. What may come as a surprise is the fact that despite the highest wages in history—\$5.17 an hour for an ordinary laborer in the Cleveland area, for example—a shortage of workers is plaguing builders in most parts of the country.

From 1.5 million housing starts in 1965, the industry fell to 1.2 million in 1966, then crept up to 1.3 million in 1967. The total this year is not expected to improve much above the 1967 figure.

The slump, caused in the beginning by a tight money market, is blamed for driving many skilled workers to steadier jobs in factories and other industries.

According to the U.S. Department of Labor, 3,340 carpenter apprentices finished the four-year program in 1966—but 7,168 trainees dropped out.

Builders point a finger at restrictive union practices, though unions protest that this is no longer true. At least, it is no longer as true as it once was. Lacking really aggressive recruiting programs, it is apparently as difficult to gain, train and retain Negro apprentices as it is white ones.

A little-discussed factor, but one which will eventually have to be faced, is union resistance to automation and jealous guarding of jurisdictional rights that go to ridiculous extremes.

When carpenters refuse to install factory-completed door frames, or painters are not permitted to hammer in protruding nails, or electricians refuse to abandon outmoded knob-and-tube wiring in place of faster methods, unions are displaying as much short-sightedness in the matter of their own self-interest as the English weavers who destroyed spinning jennies in the 18th century.

Plastic-coated wiring, stapled into place, could reduce labor time by one-third and the cost of a house by \$250 to \$300. Prefabricated plumbing units and other innovations could drastically slash building costs.

Mass production introduced into the tradition-bound building industry would have the same result as it has always had in every other industry. By lowering costs, it would stimulate demand and create far more jobs at better pay than it eliminates.

There is little likelihood that anything, save a general depression, will ever bring prices down to where they were only a few years ago. That is a "solution" no one wants.

But unless something gives, somewhere else, we may be on the way to becoming the richest, worst-housed nation in history.

HUMAN POTENTIAL DAY, OCTOBER 19, 1967

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Robert Morris, president of Plano University in Plano, Tex., made a beautiful and meaningful address as the keynote speaker for Human Potential Week on October 19, 1967. I think it is appropriate that his words become a part of the RECORD of this Congress, for they will have import for each and every Member.

The address referred to follows:

HUMAN POTENTIAL DAY, OCTOBER 19, 1967

(By Robert Morris)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Keynote address: "The Significance of Human Potential Week and of Dedication of the Valentine Auditorium" at the Institutes for the Achievement of Human Potential, October 19, 1967.)

I always enjoy coming to Chestnut Hill. Here one sees a bountiful nature renewing herself in graceful profusion—not only in a restless material world but in the poignant realm of human development that is even more a reflection of the divine order of all things. As we meet here for the felicitous purpose of this occasion, we see many manifestations of the enduring renovation of the world about us.

The dogwood trees are red today—on their way to their eclipse by the inexorable cycle of nature that will see them bloom again in May. The azaleas are curling in readiness to fade into lifeless particles that will become indistinguishable elements of the landscape. But they too will bloom again when April takes its revenge on December. The sun that shines here now will sink before some of us are home, only to return, more radiant than now, when tomorrow returns.

There are intrusions on this cycle when man or some disorganizing force of nature intervenes and disrupts the orderly mutations that we accept as enduring. A dogwood or a lilac must be felled to make way for an auditorium that will house great events. A lover will pluck an azalea bud to express his affection for the lady of his life. Or more unaccountably, a cruel storm of nature will sweep out of the vernal skies and wash away the blooms even before they burgeon and grow strong. These storms of nature, these seemingly anomalous interventions into the beautiful scheme of things, have always been with us and, I am sure, always will be; hence the blights, hence the dwarfs among the dogwood, hence the azaleas that never bloom.

Great poets have written eloquently of the babe born by means of the miracle of creation, crying first in his mother's arms and moving down the long passage of time in his growth from infancy to boyhood, from adolescence to manhood, destined all the while to have as his journey's end that mysterious exodus "where time and eternity meet and blend". It is man's imperative that he makes that passage the most fulfilling, the most fruitful and the most helpful to his fellow men. In maintaining this high purpose, he must develop himself and those whose lives he has set in motion through the miracle of procreation, toward achievement of the very highest in human potential. Such is his destiny.

But, just as cruel twists of nature will blight or dwarf the dogwood, so also will the events of nature blight a young child embarking on the voyage of life. These are but symptoms as the unpredictable cycle of life that brings in its train alternate tragedies and blessings that defy interpretation as to cause or desert. Through the ages poets and philosophers have pondered the seemingly indiscriminate incidence of the sweep of these blights and have found no clear answer.

In this area too the intervention of man sometimes thwarts the burgeoning of the child. Such often takes the form of under-privilege with its sapping of the strength necessary to traverse man's developmental pathway, or of over-privilege with its protectiveness that sees a sedulous nurse or protective parent deign not to allow their charge to come to grips with the imperative that nature, unrelentingly, requires of every child in the initial years of life.

As we sift, grope and experiment in this arena, we come to realize that there are at least four ingredients of human development.

First there is the spiritual content of the personality. A hard look at the order of the universe leads one to conclude that there are

features of a human being that lives after his mortal flesh has turned to dust. This is the quality that makes man immortal. It is enduring and in the ultimate plan of things this element obviously holds primacy. It behooves us then to enlarge and develop this ingredient of our personality.

The need to develop the body is one of the more obvious and indisputable imperatives. Athletic performances on scores of thousands of baseball diamonds, football fields and gymnasias across the land are probably the greatest testament to our adequate attention to this need. As a consequence, man is growing stronger and living longer. Insurance company statistics amply reflect this story. The progress in this area was never more dramatically impressed on me than recently, when for the first time, I looked with awe on the ruins of ancient Pompeii. With the funereal veil of lava removed from that ancient city, we were able to see preserved, man as he lived just 2,000 years ago—a short fraction of history. Adult human beings then were barely five feet tall. Recognizing this difference we realize that men who loomed large in the great events of the past were, in reality, dwarfs compared with ordinary men of today.

The mind, too, must be developed, and here again man is attending to his commandment. This ingredient of human aggregate has accomplished great things. More secrets of the universe have been unlocked in the last two decades than in the preceding two thousand years. The wondrous outpouring of computers and the revelations of science pertaining to outer space, to oceanography, to medicine and to new and seemingly occult sciences baffle, not alone in their complexity, because they all seem to fit into the simple order of nature, but also in their multiplicity. Man, by and large, is attending to the imperatives of developing his mind.

It is in the fourth dimension, as it were—the neurological—where man has been foundering. He is foundering too in the spiritual realm, but there the problem lies not in the intellect but rather in the will.

Man's ukase in the realm of the neurological includes the tendency to traverse a certain development pathway that cannot be by-passed. The old Polish proverb that warned that you must creep before you can walk had a prophetic ring worthy of the mythical Cassandra.

It is in the area of brain development that modern man has not obeyed the divine imperative and found solutions for ancient ills and blights or even succeeded in utilizing more than a mere fraction of the capacity of his ability to know and to perform. Fortunately for us, two men, Glenn Doman and Carl H. Delacato have emerged from the welter of modern attempts, first empirically and inductively to discover certain basic premises, and then moved from there, deductively and with great imagination, to point to attainable dazzling heights of future potential for all men.

It is the framework of these exciting discoveries that draws us here today.

Governor Raymond P. Shafer of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in the pioneering spirit of William Penn has declared this week to be "Human Potential Week". In doing so, he has put this great state into the *avant-garde* of progress in this vital zone of human progress and fulfillment. His acumen and his foresight will long be remembered as man begins to march down this pathway of advancement.

We are here to raise our voices for the cause of human development and the achievement of human potential in the hope that other men will listen as you listen now at these Institutes, and as we listen at the fledgling University of Plano in Texas, some 1,500 miles away.

But we must do more. It was Rudyard Kipling who wrote dramatically—"Came the

Wisper Came the Vision, Came the Power with the Need, Till the Soul that is not Man's Soul Was Lent Us to Lead".

Ideals often become real as they become represented by brick and mortar. Concretization is what makes abstractions applicable to the world of reality.

We are here today to do more than proclaim an ideal in unison with Governor Shafer and thereby honor those two founders of The Institutes who have pointed out so many new pathways. We are here to dedicate an auditorium that will draw thousands and I hope millions—we must remember that a million is but a thousand thousands—of human beings as they grope and wrestle with the exciting precepts of neurological development.

I am sure that the lectures, discussions, the ruminations, the challenging discourses, the hypothetical premises that will emanate from here will illumine and point the way to great accomplishment. I know too that articulate teachers from The Institutes in addition to Glenn Doman and Carl Delacato, Lindley Boyer, Dr. Robert Doman, Dr. Edward LeWinn, Dr. Even Thomas, Dr. Raymond Dart, Dr. Paul Henshaw, Dr. Austin Staley, Dr. Roselise Wilkinson, Dr. Leland Green, Peter Moran, Arthur Sandler, Gretchen Kerr, William Mullineaux and Nell Harvey will enlighten many audiences where we now stand. How often have I wished, as I sat in the old auditorium, with 19 others listening to Glenn Doman lecture, that the audience was a hundred times the 20 we were.

We are grateful to Dorothy Cassard and her husband, Edward, for this beautiful auditorium. Likewise, we are grateful to H. Stuart Valentine, to E. Miles Valentine and Elizabeth Carrit Jordan for their generous assistance and also to Harry S. Valentine who is taking these lights to our greatest metropolitan center. The memory of the late Dora Kline Valentine and Mahlon Kline will glow more vibrantly because of what has been wrought here and by what we dedicate today.

May this day, this dedication and the expatiation of expressed ideals inspire us to go forth and obey one of man's great divine imperatives—elevation of the plateau of human achievement.

IS LAW SUPREME?

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the May 9 issue of the Fairfax Journal-Standard, a newspaper published within my congressional district, is entitled "Is Law Supreme?" The editorial comments on the decision made in the city of Washington during the recent disorders not to use force against the rioters and suggests that oaths of office were violated by the officials who made this decision. It further indicates that the American concept of justice requires the enforcement of all laws fairly and impartially for all. The writer expresses the opinion that officials had no right under their oath of office to suspend the enforcement of laws.

While the editorial is set forth below in its entirety, your particular attention is called to the small paragraph reading:

Either the law applies to every man in every place at every time, or it does not. If our officials can pick and choose the times and places to enforce the laws, we are living in a new nation and a new time.

The full editorial follows:

IS LAW SUPREME?

In the recent riots in Washington, a key decision was made that affects all of us. It may well represent a major shift in direction for our society. The decision was to put it quite simply, not to use force against looters—that lives were more important than property.

On its face, there is much to commend the decision. Who, for example, would want to shoot a child for stealing a few soft drinks or a transistor radio?

Yet the decision may indeed have been a legal landmark. The American concept of justice—until now—has been clearly defined, and cast in bronze or carved in stone on courthouses across the nation. Justice is blind. Justice holds a scale in one hand. In the other hand, Justice holds a businesslike sword.

The men who hold public position in our land are tied together with all the others by an intricate system of solemn oaths, usually sworn before some representative of Justice. Each man in our public system, from the President to the policeman on the beat, swears to uphold the laws. Not some laws, or most laws, but ALL laws, impartially. Our massive legal establishment harps constantly on the fact that we are a nation based on the rule of law and not the rule of men.

If, perchance, a man such as George Wallace or Barry Goldwater were elected President, he would have to swear to uphold laws in which he does not believe. But no matter, he would be forced to take the oath, and to administer those laws. For that is the rule of law.

But in an hour of crisis, in the Capitol City of the Nation, the very center of this intricate system of oaths and law, we had a rule of men and not a rule of law. The sword of justice was held back. Within a few blocks of the Capitol itself, the White House and the Supreme Court, the shrines where this system has its epicenter, the officials of our government chose to suspend some of the laws.

Quite possibly, our high officials violated the most solemn oaths they are ever called upon to make. Quite probably, every policeman in the riot area violated his sworn oath of service. Almost certainly, minor officials violated their sacred pledges, and passed the word to ignore the law, and to avoid using those weapons which our society has for generations provided to its law-keepers.

We do not propose here to argue the merits of the choices made in Washington during a time of fiery crisis. We do ask that such decisions be made with full realization of what they mean.

If we are to suspend the rule of law, where are we to go? Perhaps the so-called New Left is trying to find the alternatives with its aimless thrashings. Perhaps the hippies are saying there is no alternative except "flower power" with "each man doing his own thing."

Indeed, perhaps the doctrine of "situation ethics" is leading us to a system of "situation law."

What is involved is nothing less than a break with the whole system of Western Civilization and with the Judeo-Christian ethic. As far back as Jesus Christ, the faithful were told to "Give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's . . ." What was Caesar's was the system of Roman Law.

The public debate and action on the Washington riots has failed to grasp the real issue. Petty officialdom automatically rushed to reestablish its place in the rule of law. The outstanding example was a silly letter demanding a cleanup within 24 hours—under penalty of law. Burned-out businessmen probed cautiously for an answer to the question of future protection by the law.

The question is deep and profound. It needs the best minds of legal philosophy. It demands debate in Congress, discussion by candidates for President, decisions from the Su-

preme Court. If we had a test case, a cause celebre, then perhaps we could get a decision by the old system on whether we are heading for a new system and where it might lead. But we have no such case.

Either the law applies to every man in every place at every time, or it does not. If our officials can pick and choose the times and places to enforce the laws, we are living in a new nation and a new time.

Property, in the end, may not be as important as life in the America of the future. But the American system of life, whatever its weaknesses, is more important than one life, or several. Millions have died to protect it.

Let us not change it without a clear understanding of what we are doing.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SEEN THREAT TO OUR NATION

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, we have all seen our laws eroded through persistent violations which masqueraded under the guise of civil disobedience and as a result we have seen a breakdown in our traditional concept of law and order.

In this connection Dr. L. Nelson Bell, father-in-law of Evangelist Billy Graham and executive editor of the magazine Christianity Today, recently wrote a column in the magazine pointing out that calculated civil disobedience has ushered in an era of lawlessness and bloodshed that can plunge our Nation into chaos and disorder.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter, I am placing this article in the RECORD, as follows:

CHRISTIANITY TODAY SAYS: "CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IS MORAL CANCER WHICH COULD DESTROY OUR NATION"

"The lawlessness that has entered our national life through civil disobedience—a concept having the approval of most of the major denominations—can prove to be the moral cancer that will destroy our country."

So writes Dr. L. Nelson Bell, executive editor, in a recent issue of Christianity Today, one of the nation's most widely read religious magazines. Dr. Bell is the father-in-law of evangelist Billy Graham. The editorial follows in full:

"Calculated civil disobedience, seemingly so innocent, has brought in an era of lawlessness and bloodshed that can plunge our nation into unbelievable chaos. The tragic death of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and subsequent events bear mute testimony to the uncontrolled forces now unloosed across the land.

"In recent years nearly every major denomination has passed resolutions on civil disobedience defending the principle of resistance to the law and constituted authority while admitting that those who break the law must be prepared to accept the consequences.

"What a few years ago appeared to be a gesture of sympathy toward those engaged in civil disobedience has now developed into support of individuals and movements that are challenging constitutional procedures and encouraging a spirit of rebellion and anarchy. Some churchmen now say openly that there must be revolution, even bloodshed, before there can be a new social order.

"Perhaps this year will prove to be the last chance for general assemblies, confer-

ences, conventions, and the like to take a second look at a philosophy that is able to destroy the foundations of the nation. For if lawlessness prevails, the outlook for America is bleak.

"Civil disobedience can lead to the dissolution of law and order, with anarchy the result. Further, it can lead to revolution. And revolution can open the way to dictatorship, with the resulting loss of freedom and ultimate bondage.

"Riots, bloodshed, arson, loss of life and property—a dismal story—are the result of trying to redress wrongs in the streets rather than in the courts and at the ballot box. In rejecting 'gradualism' with its attending frustrations and disappointments, many are resorting to a senseless rebellion that adds tensions and injustice.

"Writing in Look magazine a few months ago under the title, 'Dissent or Destruction?', Eric Sevareid observed:

"The use of force to express conviction, even if takes so relatively mild a form as a college sit-in that blocks the administration building, is intolerable. When Dr. Martin Luther King, who may well be one of the noblest Americans of the century, deliberately defies a court order, then he ought to go to jail. Laws and ordinances can be changed, and are constantly being changed, but they cannot be rewritten in the streets where other citizens also have their rights' (Look, Sept. 5, 1967, pp. 22, 33; copyright 1967 by Eric Sevareid; used by permission).

"To engage in or condone civil disobedience is to loose a tiger of destruction. The welfare of any nation depends on respect for and enforcement of law. Lawlessness is now prevalent enough to endanger the very life of our nation. Laws that are inadequate or unjust should be changed in the courts and at the polls; they cannot be changed in the streets.

"Furthermore, those who incite riots and disorders, who advocate violent disruption of communities and go about as hatemongers, whether they be members of secret organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, black-power advocates, or something else, should be handled by the law on the basis of their public threats, before they commit violent acts.

"Any person who openly flouts the law should be called to account.

"The hooded organization that engages in terrorism, arson, and bombings should be infiltrated by representatives of the law until its leaders are behind bars and its members scattered into oblivion.

"The wave of civil disobedience that is threatening our national life seems to have paralyzed us into fear and inaction. But unless it is reversed, we face anarchy. No segment of society can be permitted to act above the law and to destroy the things on which a decent society is based.

"We are on the verge of being frightened enough to believe that the outlay of hundreds of billions of dollars is the answer to our problem. No one questions the need to rebuild our cities; but chaos cannot be cured by money. No matter how great the sum. Even if every person in America were put in a mansion, without regard for law and order our problems would continue.

"No one can deny that we have countenanced discrimination and humiliation to such a point that a sense of frustration is inevitable; now this frustration has caused violent reactions. These sins against human beings must cease, and equal opportunities must be available to all. But with these needed changes (and tremendous progress is being made in this direction), respect for law and law enforcement must be maintained.

"This is no plea for maintaining the status quo. It is a plea for recognition that the blindness and unconcern of the dominant segment of our society must be completely changed. And on the other hand, it is an affirmation that any status and rights gained through civil disorder will be gained at too high a price.

"Two centuries ago Edmund Burke, the great English statesman, gave this warning: 'Men are qualified for civil liberties in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites. . . . Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite is placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.'

"In medicine there is a condition known as 'generalized carcinomatosis,' which, in layman's language, means cancer that has spread over the entire body. At that stage there is no known cure.

"The lawlessness that has entered our national life through civil disobedience—a concept having the approval of most of the major denominations—can prove to be the moral cancer that will destroy our country.

"This is a plea to churchmen, who will be meeting during the coming months, to take stock of what has been loosed upon the land. Civil disobedience is not the 'harmless gesture of protest' it was once said to be. Rather, it has grown into a monster of disorder, riots, and general lawlessness that is eating at the vitals of our national life. It is proving as senseless—and as devastating—as the proverbial 'burning down the barn to get rid of the rats.'

"Some of our most distinguished jurists and law-makers have deplored the actions of various church courts in condoning civil disobedience. Sufficient time has now elapsed to assess the damage; one has but to open his daily newspaper to realize that we totter on the brink of open rebellion.

"Responsible law-makers must do everything they can to eliminate injustice, discrimination, and humiliation. At the same time, those who administer the law must be supported at all costs.

"The alternative is national disaster."

LABOR REACTS TO UNFAIRNESS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, despite the suppression by the major communications bosses, the voice of the members of organized labor was heard loud and clear—protesting the discrimination in patriotic respect by our national leaders to the memory of Gov. Lurleen Wallace.

We can be sure there were many such "unrecorded" incidents which the few in control would prefer to ignore and pretend never happened. These are the boys that mutter about free speech in a free society?

After all, Mrs. Wallace was but an elected American Governor—King was an international appointed figurehead. It matters not what the American people are interested in or want to know about; rather it has become what the news censors will permit the public to see or hear.

Mr. Speaker, I include an article from the May 13 Wall Street Journal and a clipping from the May 15 Washington Post, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 13, 1968]
GOVERNOR WALLACE'S DEATH LED TO CAR-PLANT ABSENTEEISM

DETROIT.—High absenteeism sparked by the death of Alabama governor Lurleen Wallace

last week briefly closed down several auto plants and cut fractionally into last week's auto output.

Ford Motor Co. said absenteeism reached such high levels last Thursday—the day Gov. Wallace was buried—at its Atlanta, Ga., facility that the plant closed in the afternoon. The unit built only 532 cars out of a scheduled 1,000 that day.

On the same day, absenteeism forced Chrysler to temporarily close its car assembly plant at Belvidere, Ill. At Newark, Del., Chrysler production lines were slowed down when 600 of the plant's 4,600 workers failed to report for work.

General Motors Corp. said none of its plants were closed down nor did absenteeism reach unusual proportions. The company did say though that at one of its facilities, which it declined to identify, there were demands by white workers that the flag be lowered to half mast.

Companies declined to link the surge of absenteeism to white backlash. Industry sources, however, noted that in some cases plant supervisors had been presented with demands for a closedown of operations in memory of Gov. Wallace, an avowed segregationist and wife of former Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
May 15, 1968]

TV NETWORKS ARE DUE TO SAIL INTO A CONGRESSIONAL STORM

Trouble is jumping up on all sides of the broadcasting business and the difficulties that CBS encountered last week before the House Special Subcommittee on Investigations are only a beginning.

For most of the past 20 years, with short timeouts for brief storms created by Newton N. Minow and E. William Henry, broadcasters have counted on a friendly, docile Federal Communications Commission.

Now the FCC is headed for new trouble with the Investigations subcommittee.

A recently issued staff report of the Senate Communications subcommittee furnishes another clue to a Congressional attitude toward the FCC. After reviewing problems created by the "Fairness Doctrine," the report concludes: ". . . the FCC, as a comprehensive device for protecting and defending the public interest, has been largely inadequate."

The FCC's policies are described as "a tattered old quilt that was never meant to warm a king-sized bed like communications today."

Another clue is provided in a recent speech delivered by Rep. John E. Moss (D-Calif.) to the Hollywood Festival of World Television in Los Angeles. Moss, one of the most vigorous of the Investigations subcommittee members, said: ". . . it is one of the true wonders of the world that the American communications industry has survived despite this so-called regulatory agency."

Moss thinks that the FCC should have direct regulatory authority over the networks. To him, the regulation of individual stations but not of networks "is akin to nations regulating the size of navies by treaties which limit the number of rowboats but not the number of battleships and carriers."

Last week's 15 hours of testimony on the WBBM-TV "Pot Party at a University" was only a preliminary round to the subcommittee's main event with TV networks and the FCC.

WBBM-TV is owned and operated by CBS and the testimony given—under oath—by CBS executives is in direct conflict with other sworn testimony. CBS, one can bet successfully, is due for a return visit to the committee.

NBC, which owns five TV stations, is also likely to make a few appearances. The Investigations Subcommittee staff has already visited Southern California, checking on complaints that NBC newsmen prepared

"protest" signs before going to cover a student meeting.

The official denial and explanation by NBC attorneys may have placated the FCC, but they haven't satisfied the congressional committee.

Most amusing, perhaps, is the mild rebuke that the FCC administered to NBC over its annual telecasts of the "Golden Globe Awards" of the Hollywood Foreign Press Association (HFPA).

An article in TV Guide referred to the awards as "a local joke—like wrestling" and even that description was full of kindness. Wrestlers do provide a pretty good show for their fans and openly advertise their competition as an "exhibition."

The FCC, in charitable legalese terms the HFPA as "not an organization of accredited press representatives." It also found that "Golden Globe" awards were reserved for those who would appear—for free—at the telecast.

Not one of these incidents is very important except in judging a regulatory agency's relationship with its licensees. None of them, certainly, squares with the FCC's 1960 programming report that told every broadcaster to make certain "to assure that no matter is broadcast which will deceive or mislead the public."

FRIENDLY TOWN

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, several communities in the First District are participating in the Friendly Town program which will bring underprivileged children from Chicago and Des Moines to help families get a better understanding of our diverse society.

The program also exposes the children to a different environment and to an aspect of American life they might not otherwise learn about.

The Mt. Pleasant News recently carried an article on the program. The Friendly Town program is worthwhile and should be encouraged. I hope it will continue to grow and expand.

The article follows:

YOU MAY JOIN IN FRIENDLY TOWN PROGRAM

Friendly Town, a program which gives families a chance to share their home with underprivileged children from the Inner City of Chicago and Des Moines, will begin its fourth year in Iowa this summer.

The purpose of Friendly Town is to help families share a learning experience with people of different backgrounds in our society.

Any family may request a child. Requests may be made at to the age and sex of the child, but not race. Children are from seven to twelve years old and of all ethnic and racial backgrounds. Applications must be in by June 1st along with a five dollar fee for a Des Moines child or a twelve dollar fee for a Chicago youngster. Fees cover office and traveling expenses.

Families may request more than one child and are encouraged to do so if there are no young children in the immediate family. Requests may also be made for a child the family had the previous year. These applications must be in by May 15, if the child is from Chicago, to allow Friendly Town time to locate the child.

The children will be brought from Chicago and Des Moines to spend July 13-27 with host families. Children from Des Moines will be

picked up there by their host family, while those from Chicago will arrive at designated places by train.

The program provides both sickness and accident insurance and each child has had a medical examination.

Student Congregations at Iowa State University, Ames, are sponsors for the program.

Local chairmen for this program are Mrs. Allen Molander, Rural Route, Crawfordsville for the Olds-Crawfordsville-Winfield area and Mrs. Robert Wettach for the Mt. Pleasant-New London area. If you are interested in being a host family for an underprivileged child, please call Mrs. Molander, 254-2478, or Mrs. Wettach, 385-2442, for more information or to request an application blank.

FIFTY YEARS OF AIRMAIL

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, today, May 15, marks the 50th anniversary of airmail. That fact alone would have made the day a significant one and one well worthy of special observance.

But in the United States it is difficult to separate the growth and development of airmail from the coming of age of the aviation industry. They grew up together.

There was developing interest in aviation before the postal service decided to move the mail by air. But it is certainly no exaggeration to say that over the past 50 years airmail has made an incalculable contribution to the progress of aviation.

When the postal service first put mail on airplanes in 1918, aircraft were not considered a particularly dependable mode of transportation.

The courage of the first airmail pilots and the determination of the postal service to make airmail work proved the skeptics wrong.

The postal service was a leader in the use of aviation from the days of the Flying Jenny, through the development of multiengine aircraft, to the superjets of today.

The Post Office marked the 50th anniversary of airmail by issuing a golden anniversary airmail stamp at ceremonies today, presided over by W. Marvin Watson, Postmaster General.

Following is the text of the Postmaster General's remarks:

REMARKS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL WATSON AT AIRMAIL STAMP DEDICATION

I feel privileged that my initial first day ceremony as Postmaster General concerns such an important stamp.

I know the President shares my view, for when I told him of this ceremony, he asked me to give you a personal message. He said, "This Air Mail Fiftieth Anniversary issue reminds all of us of one basic fact of American life.

"Though man's reach may always exceed his grasp, when he has the courage to reach, here in this great land of ours, his grasp has always exceeded his hopes."

I think that expression reflects much of the meaning of America.

This is a land of opportunity and of achievement.

It is a land in which those who search out and seek out opportunity have not only an excellent chance to achieve, but time and time again have achieved far more than they expected.

Certainly this stamp illustrates that point.

A few men had a vision of mail delivered by regular air service. Most thought it the wildest of dreams.

But men with the dream succeeded in transforming that vision into hard fact and brilliant success.

I am proud to note that the Congressional father of air mail, Representative Morris Sheppard, was a Texan.

Congressman Sheppard was familiar with frontiers and difficulties. He knew the nation desired to have the power of flight fully exploited for the public benefit. His determination and enthusiasm enrolled the support of fellow Members of Congress, many of whom had to convince colleagues about the practicality of a form of transportation some of them had never seen. For in those days the airplane was a form of unidentified flying object.

This tradition of Congressional leadership and initiative has served the Post Office Department well in the past.

It is serving equally well today. Senator Monroney and others in the Congress have consistently fought for progress in the nation's mail service. Senator Monroney, in fact, is to the air mail service of today what Congressman Sheppard was to yesterday.

For that reason, Senator, we have a surprise for you here today.

Yesterday, it was my privilege to present to the air mail pioneers a special flight certificate in honor of their achievements. These awards are the only ones of their kind.

At the same time, the Post Office Department also prepared one other award, also one of a kind.

It is for leadership and support in the highest tradition of the men who first dreamed of air mail.

The Citation reads: "United States Post Office Department hereby recognizes Senator A. S. (Mike) Monroney on this, the 50th Anniversary of the Air Mail Service, for his outstanding contributions to the American people in recognizing the importance of air transportation to the movement of priority mail. Faster and more effective postal service has resulted from programs promulgated at his behest to encourage and accelerate development of the aviation industry."

Senator, on behalf of all of us, it is an honor to make this presentation to you.

It is an honor, as well, to have with us here today so many of those pioneers who first brought the air mail through. These were men whose beacon was a thin line of courage.

Through their example, and that of other air pioneers, the nation began to accept the reality of air transportation. From that small beginning—from that first realization of what once seemed the impossible dream—our nation's aircraft industry grew.

Now we are far from the day when air mail was a matter of faith and valor alone. Now we are truly entering an era which is even beyond the dreams of those men of 50 years ago.

Today, air mail is the most commonly accepted and preferred means. Virtually all first class mail which can be effectively air-lifted is now so moved and almost 80 per cent of all letter mail now travels by air. We are rapidly approaching the time when air mail and first class will be merged into a single priority service.

This progress is in the very finest tradition of our nation and in the very finest tradition of those men whose courage and vision made it possible.

Today we commemorate not only an event, but we reaffirm the power of man to harness the laws of nature for the good of all.

Today, we have an aviation industry that is the finest in the world.

Today, we have an air mail service second to none, a service that refuse to rest satisfied with past success but which insists on improving and expanding building from excellence to greater excellence.

And today I am proud to salute all those who have contributed to this great reflection of a dynamic America. They have followed a star. They have fulfilled a dream. They have added a vital chapter to the story of American success.

Mr. Speaker, this was a particularly colorful ceremony, taking place in the Smithsonian Institution near "Old No. 249," a reconstructed version of a U.S. mail airplane of a half century ago.

Old No. 249 was rebuilt by the Air Mail Pioneers and just last weekend completed a historic flight along the original 19-stop transcontinental route from Santa Paula, Calif., to Washington, D.C. Pilot for the 1968 flight was J. W. "Bill" Hackbarth, an airmail pioneer.

The famous mailplane was turned over to the Post Office Department today by Reuben H. Fleet, who was airmail pilot No. 1 and made the first airmail flight back on May 15, 1918.

The historic airplane was accepted for the Department by Frederick E. Batrus, Assistant Postmaster General for Transportation, who immediately turned it over to the Smithsonian for the National Air and Space Museum.

Chairman of the golden airmail anniversary celebration is Gen. Brooke E. Allen, and the event was coordinated by the National Aeronautic Association.

Mr. Fleet, who made the pioneering flight in 1918, has written a vivid recollection of that first flight, as well as other details of those early days of airmail. Following is Mr. Fleet's text:

FIFTY YEARS OF AIRMAIL

(By Reuben H. Fleet)

On Friday, 3 May 1918, the War Department issued an order to its Air Service Aeronautics to inaugurate an Aerial Mail Service between Washington and New York each way every day except Sunday, to depart both terminals at 11:00 a.m., beginning Wednesday, 15 May 1918, with intermediate landing and mail service at Philadelphia by both north and south bound airplanes. Airline distance between north and south terminals—218 miles. The order was issued by Newton D. Baker, the Secretary of War, at the request of the Post Office Department, under direction of Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States. A. S. Burleson was the Postmaster General; Otto Praeger, Second Assistant Postmaster General, was in charge of transportation of all mail.

Never before had mail been carried in the world by air at an announced time to and from designated places on a schedule operation irrespective of weather. The order came as a complete surprise, although I learned on inauguration day from President Wilson that the Cabinet had been discussing establishment of an Aerial Mail Service for several months, and had called for bids therefor; had received no bids; and upon recommendation of Colonel E. A. Deeds, Air Service Production, that the training would be valuable to Army pilots, had decided to order the Army to fly it.

Agreement to operate the Aerial Mail Service jointly by the War and the Post Office Departments was dated 1 March 1918, and Congress had appropriated \$100,000 therefor—we in the Air Service knew nothing of this until the order of 3 May 1918.

From Col. Bane's Dairy: "On 2 May 1918, Lieut. Col. Henry J. Damm and Major Oscar A. Brindley were killed testing the first Liberty engine in a DH airplane at South Field in Dayton, Ohio. Lieut. Col. Thurman H. Bane, Majors Reuben H. Fleet and Albert D. Smith met there, inspected the wreck, and determined the cause of the accident to have been a removed spark plug dropped on the lower wing which trickled back into the V gap formed by the wing trailing edge and the aileron, preventing banking of the airplane when the motor missed and caused pilot Brindley to turn back to the field from which they had taken off. Col. Damm's diary showed, "South Field is too small for this test-flying."

"Major Smith was on crutches with a broken ankle caused by his crash of a Nieuport (imported) airplane, and so I designated Fleet to complete the test of the second Liberty engine in another DH, inasmuch as every delay counted, and the President had announced 'America will win the war with aviation', and that 'this is a war to end all wars and make the world safe for democracy'. "Fleet insisted that the DH airplane be trucked to Wilbur Wright Field to afford more runway and airfield. There he took off, flew the ship beyond the field's length, took it to 6,000 feet, banked it with gentle and then steeper banks, looped it four successive loops with power on, then stalled it deliberately and kicked it into a spin which he came out of 800 feet from the ground. Upon landing we gave him hell for spinning down so low, until he peeled off his shirt and wrung out the perspiration, remarking that he'd pass up lunch."

As Major J.M.A., A.S.A., U.S.A., I was Executive Officer for Flying Training in the United States, stationed at Air Service Signal Corps Headquarters, with thirty-four flying fields under my command. Upon recommendation of Colonel H. H. Arnold, I was appointed Officer in Charge of the Aerial Mail Service, in addition to my other duties. On 6 May, Secretary Baker phoned me to come to his office for conference. I reported the Air Service had no airplanes capable of flying non-stop from Washington to Philadelphia or from Philadelphia to New York, and requested postponement to gain more time than eight days to obtain Curtiss JN6H airplanes with double fuel capacity and with a hopper for mail replacing the front seat and the dual control in these airplanes. Secretary Baker invited Secretary Burleson to his office; Burleson went into a rage over the suggestion for deferment, stating he had already announced to the Press that an Army Aerial Mail Service would get started on 15 May, and that it had to start then, even if war work suffered. Secretary Baker was sympathetic with my recommendation but the fact that the Press had been advised that the Aerial Mail Service would start on 15 May was governing, and the War Department had to do it even if its aviators had to land in meadows enroute and retank with gasoline, oil and maybe water.

Without leaving Secretary Baker's office, I telephoned Colonel E. A. Deeds, A.S.P. (Air Service Production), and requested him to order six JN6Hs from Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation at Garden City, Long Island, New York, which firm was manufacturing trainers for the Army, leaving out the front seat and the front control, and substituting in the front cockpit a hopper to carry mail; also installing in each airplane, double capacity for gasoline and oil, the six airplanes to be delivered to us at Mineola Air Field in eight days.

Curtiss accepted the telephonic order and agreed to have ready the six such airplanes at the sacrifice of suspending delivery of trainers during this period. They proposed to use two regular nineteen gallon gasoline tanks and two regular 2½ gallon oil tanks, hooking together each pair of tanks to double the fuel capacity. The normal range of a

Curtis JN6H airplane trainer with a gasoline tank carrying 19 gallons was 88 miles in one hour and twenty minutes at cruising speed of 66 miles an hour, reduced by headwinds and accelerated by tail winds.

I then telephoned my friend Major August Belmont, 65, in New York City, owner of Belmont Park Race Track on Long Island, and requested permission to use his Park for the aerial mail serving New York City, as the Army did not want to interrupt training of aviators in Mineola. Incidentally, my friend Major Hitchcock, 57, was Officer in Charge of Flying at Mineola, (father of Tommy Hitchcock, later partner of Lehman Bros., America's greatest polo-player, killed in an airplane accident in World War II). Major Hitchcock had piloted me on my first flight over New York City and Long Island, helping select sites for airfields, etc., in that area.

On 13 May 1918, I went with five other aerial mail pilots (leaving Lieut. Boyle in Washington) to the Curtiss factory at Garden City, where the mail planes were reportedly ready. Mechanics, engineers, and we worked night and day, and on the afternoon of 14 May two airplanes only were flyable. I had personally selected and detailed for the Aerial Mail Service, R.M.A.'s First Lieutenants Howard Paul Culver, Torrey H. Webb, and Walter Miller, and Second Lieutenant Stephen Bonsal and the Post Office Department had requested that Second Lieutenants James Clark Edgerton and George Leroy Boyle be detailed by us for Aerial Mail Service. Edgerton's father was purchasing agent for the Post Office Department; Lieutenant Edgerton had just graduated from primary instruction as an aviator at Ellington Field. Lieutenant Boyle's father-in-law (to be) was Judge Charles C. McChord, Interstate Commerce Commissioner who had "saved the parcel post for the Post Office Department" against private express companies bidding and fighting in court for the business. The Post Office Department requested that Lieutenant Boyle fly the first aerial mail from Washington, and Lieutenant Edgerton into Washington.

I left Lieutenant Webb in charge at Belmont Park and the Curtiss plant, with Lieutenants Miller and Bonsal helping and in reserve, and instructed Webb to get the other four aerial mail airplanes ready, and fly one from Belmont Park with the aerial mail at eleven the next morning to Bustleton Field, which the Philadelphia postmaster had selected for Philadelphia. Edgerton at Bustleton Field would relieve Lieutenant Webb there and fly on to Washington, while Lieutenant Culver would relay the aerial mail at Bustleton to Belmont Park in New York.

Edgerton, Culver and I left Belmont Race Track for Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 14th. I assigned Culver and Edgerton each an aerial mail plane and I flew an ordinary Jenny trainer without extra fuel tanks because only two aerial mail airplanes were ready by afternoon of 14 May. The weather was frightful; it was so foggy we pilots could not see each other after take-off; the masts of boats in New York Harbor were in fog. I climbed through the fog and came out at 11,000 feet, almost the ceiling of the airplane. I flew by magnetic compass and the sun until I ran out of gasoline and the propeller stopped. I glided in the direction of Philadelphia, and came out of the clouds with 3,000 feet to spare. I selected a farm and landed, buying a five gallon milk can of ordinary gasoline from a farmer. We had lots of trouble pouring it in the gasoline tank without a funnel and without a chamois skin to strain it. Perhaps three gallons got in the airplane and darkness was coming. I inquired where Bustleton was, took off, flew toward it, ran out of gasoline again, and landed in a meadow two miles from Bustleton Field. As no telephone was available, I commandeered a farmer to drive me to

Bustleton Field, and sent Culver with aviation gasoline to get the airplane and fly it in.

There were so many things wrong with the airplanes and their motors that we worked all night to get them in better commission; for example, one gas tank had a hole the size of a lead pencil and we had to cork it up with an ordinary bottle cork, as there was no time or facility to repair it. By 8:40 the next morning, one mail machine was flyable and I took it off for Washington, where I landed at 10:35 a.m. at the Polo Field in Potomac Park—the mail was due to start twenty five minutes later.

I had delegated Capt. B. B. Lipsner, A.S.P. (not an aviator), detailed at his request to the Aerial Mail Service by Air Service Production, to have aviation gasoline at the Polo Field in Washington. He failed in his mission and didn't have a drop of gasoline there. We drained gasoline from a British airplane and two other American airplanes that were on the field, and filled therefrom the aerial mail airplane. President Wilson was there with his wife; also Mr. Burleson, Otto Praeger and the Japanese Postmaster General. President Wilson said, "Tomorrow I want to extend this service to Boston." I replied, "Mr. President, please do not order this until we can get the equipment and personnel." He said, "I want you to come to the White House right after the aerial mail airplane takes off and bring Secretary Baker with you."

On the way with Secretary Baker, I asked him earnestly to oppose extension of the service without our having time to prepare, and explained we had had to neglect war operations to handle the existing aerial mail assignment.

Mr. Baker supported me and no announcement of extension of the Aerial Mail Service to and from Boston was then made to the Press. Boston round-trip service was begun on 6 June 1918. The President presented me with a Hamilton wrist watch engraved to commemorate the occasion. The watch and six similar ones for the other six pilots were donated by the Hamilton Watch Company. "Manufacturers of the watch of railroad accuracy." My watch still runs and keeps good time.

At this conference the President stated that on Monday (13 May 1918) he had requested Judge Hughes to investigate with the Attorney General the very serious charges of dishonesty and skulduggery connected with the production of aircraft, which possibly was preventing his winning the war with aircraft, since he had appropriated \$740 million therefor and announced to the world that America would win the war with aviation. Judge Hughes accepted that very day, 15 May 1918.

On 15 May 1918 the War Department issued the first official description of the Liberty aero-engine.

On 14 May 1918 Congress passed the Overman Act, and, after approving it on 20 May, the President separated the Air Service from the Signal Corps and appointed Major General William L. Kenly (not an aviator) Director of Military Aeronautics, Air Service Aeronautics, U.S. Army.

On 20 May 1918 Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, detached Colonels S. D. Waldron, Robert L. Montgomery, and Edward A. Deeds, Signal Corps, from their duties in connection with aviation and directed them to report to the Attorney General "for such cooperation and assistance as they can render in the aviation investigation with which the Department of Justice has been charged."

As there was no aviation field in Washington, we had to use the Polo Field in Potomac Park for take-off and landing. It was surrounded by a race track outside of which was a row of beautiful trees about 30 feet high. Four days before the aerial mail was due to start, I requested permission from the Park Commission to cut down a lone, non-sym-

metrical, ugly and hazardous tree that was out in the field. They asked when we needed the tree removed and I said, "Three days." They said it would take them three months to act. I went to the field and ordered mechanics to cut down the tree 6 inches below the ground, fill over the stump with cinders, tamp it hard and pull the fallen tree outside the race track. Another obstacle was the bandstand at one end of the field, about which nothing could be done. The lone tree had caused Colonel Culver (no relative of Lieut. Culver) to crash and he had been hospitalized for weeks. Colonel Culver was in charge of our important development of radio.

On 18 May, Secretary Baker directed me to report to his office and asked if I had a tree cut down at the Polo Grounds at Potomac Park. When I answered "Yes, Sir," Secretary Baker asked if I didn't know one had to have permission from the Park Commission before cutting down a tree in Washington. I told him the Park Commission had said it would take them three months to act, so I acted. I continued, "I didn't ask for this job, Mr. Secretary, I am in charge of training of all army aviators in the United States, with 34 fields operating and students crashing every hour of the day, so if you want me to run this aerial mail job also, leave me alone and I'll run it!" Secretary Baker said, "You know your business, Fleet—continue to run it and I'll back you from hell to breakfast."

At 10:45 a.m. on 15 May 1918, Lieut. Boyle's fiancée, Miss Margaret McChord, was at Potomac Park Polo Field with an armful of red roses. Even as I strapped my map on his leg and gave him the corrected compass course to Philadelphia, she was there to kiss him goodbye and wave him off. He got lost in the air, landed in a plowed field near Waldorf, Maryland, 25 air miles from takeoff, and over on his back, breaking his propeller. He telephoned me at the office of the Second Assistant Postmaster General for instructions. I directed him to bring the mail back to Washington and we sent it by air the next day.

The Post Office Department requested that Lieut. Boyle be given a second chance. On this trip I accompanied him in another airplane 40 miles on the correct compass course, cut my throttle, asked him if he was okeh and could carry on. He yelled back, "I'm okeh." He landed, lost and out of gas, near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, retanked with gasoline and took off for Bustleton Field. He crashed near Philadelphia Country Club with out hurting himself, breaking a wing of his plane. He delivered the mail by truck to Philadelphia.

The Post Office Department then requested that "Lieut. Boyle be given a third chance and, if he fails, the Post Office Department will take responsibility for his failure." Relying on Secretary Baker's statement that he'd back me from "hell to breakfast," I replied, "The request is denied. Lieut. Boyle is relieved of all duty with the Aerial Mail Service and is being sent back to flying school for further training in cross-country flying. If the Post Office Department wishes to place the Aerial Mail Service in proper light before the public, it will take responsibility for Lieut. Boyle's two previous failures; the Chief of the Aerial Mail Service had no voice in Lieut. Boyle's selection." R.M.A. Lieut. E. W. Kilgore was selected to replace Boyle.

While the Post Office Department had also requested Lieut. Edgerton, he certainly "made good." He relayed the mail from Philadelphia into Washington the first day, and it was a wonderful feeling to see him land beautifully at Potomac Park Polo Field, bringing the New York and Philadelphia mail in the afternoon of 15 May 1918.

The Post Office Department asked how much postage it should charge. I inquired if the idea was to make the Aerial Mail self-supporting and if there was a limit. Mr.

Praeger said, "We want it to stand on its own feet; our limit is 24 cents," which I then recommended. Such a stamp was printed and used on the first aerial mail letters.

The first four days we were filled with mail and then patronage dropped steadily. We carried ordinary mail up to capacity and reduced postage to eight cents and had new eight cent stamps printed. We equipped the terminal post offices with rubber cancellation stamps "Delivered by Aerial Mail," and the Press and business people began to praise us everywhere. It took four days to get all four legs through without failure and then after ten days with a perfect record, we persuaded Secretary Baker to relieve the Army of Aerial Mail duties, turning over to the Post Office Department temporarily the pilots and mechanics and the airplanes and fields, and Captain B. B. Lipsner, of Air Service Production (no pilot) who requested the detail.

The airplane which Lieut. Webb flew into Bustleton Field and which Lieut. Edgerton relayed to Washington was No. 38278 and that which I flew into Washington from Philadelphia on the morning of the inauguration of the Aerial Mail Service and turned over to Lieut. Boyle was No. 38262. All the aerial mail planes were doped fabric covered as to wings and fuselages, structure being wirebraced. They were open cockpit bi-planes, properly called JN6Hs, each airplane being powered by a Hispano-Suiza 150 horsepower single engine. The front cockpit had a covered hopper for mail, the front seat and dual control having been removed. There were no parachutes; every pilot rode his airplane down to earth on a forced landing. All pilots wore helmets, breeches and leggings, goggles, and leather jackets.

Colonel H. H. Arnold was entirely too busy as Assistant Director of Military Aeronautics, United States Army, to bother with either the Aerial Mail or with the training of aviators. One of his great virtues was that he selected assistants carefully and required them to run their "shows" without questions or assistance. Our country was at war and since Major General William L. Kenly, the Director of Military Aeronautics, was not a flyer, there was lots of work for Colonel Arnold to do with many cablegrams from European fronts and airfields overseas.

There were no maps of much value in existence at the inauguration of the Aerial Mail. Major E. Lester Jones, Chief of our Geodetic Survey, made up maps for us to use. The state maps of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland were all different scales and they showed only political divisions with nothing of a physical nature except cities, towns, rivers, harbors, etc. We had to fold maps of the entire United States in a "strip" to have everything on a uniform scale. Naturally, the maps contained little detail. The magnetic compass was inaccurate and was affected by local metal on the airplane; there were no compass bases to use in compensating each compass. Pilots of this early day had to have a natural sense to fly between given points at a designated hour irrespective of weather. We should, therefore, not criticize Lieut. Boyle too severely for his failures. He simply lacked enough training to do the job and the Air Service could risk no more than two trials to suit the Post Office Department before relieving him for more cross-country instruction.

The whole administration was interested in our experiments and there was no question but that my friend, Colonel Deeds, Air Service Production, was right in recommending that the Aerial Mail Service would be valuable training for our young aviators. Our pilots, however, had had cross-country training and commanded everyone's respect. The Army pilots flew the Aerial Mail for the Post Office from 15 May 1918 to 12 August 1918 when it was taken over by the Post Office

Department, I severed my command at the close of the second week, to carry on with other duties.

Mr. Otto Praeger, Second Assistant Postmaster General in charge of transportation of all mail should be credited with fighting hard for Air Mail in our country. He was ably assisted by Chief Clerk, George L. Conner, on 15 Oct. '66, 74, Minister Emeritus, Congress Heights Methodist Church in Washington, D.C. When the Air Mail was turned over to private contractors, they built it fast and well, the Government assisting.

What an age in which to serve! And with such pals!

PACE MAGAZINE SALUTES THE
MODERN POLICEMAN

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I sent a special report on the law enforcement crisis to the people of my district of Oklahoma.

In this report I pointed out that while we must expect government at the local, State and Federal levels to take all possible steps to strengthen law enforcement and respect for the law, every citizen must make it his business to contribute constructively to this effort.

In this report I suggested the possibility of actively involving boys of the grade school and junior high school levels in law enforcement and an understanding of police problems and solutions through clubs sponsored by the law enforcement agencies. When I was county attorney in Muskogee County, the chief of police and sheriff joined me in sponsoring a highly successful organization of this type called the Junior Officer Corps.

Since mailing this report, I have sent letters to the district attorneys, sheriffs, and chiefs of police in my district suggesting that they explore a general revival of the Junior Officer Corps.

Mr. Speaker, to me it is encouraging to see that our law enforcement officers and agencies are concerned with this matter of gaining understanding and respect from our citizens—and especially our young citizens.

A good example of efforts along this line can be found in Pace magazine of May 1968, in an article entitled "A New Beat for the Modern Cop." This article contains excellent accounts of work police officers are doing with young people in New York City and Tucson, Ariz., and I feel sure that similar efforts are under way in many parts of the country. I would like to have this article printed in the RECORD as a reminder to us all that law enforcement is a demanding, satisfying career, and that real—but often unappreciated—efforts are being made to bring this fact before our young people.

The article follows:

A NEW BEAT FOR THE MODERN COP

The primary responsibility of a policeman still is to maintain law and order, but today he may spend 90 percent of his time in noncriminal-related duties. He must be, in effect, a lawyer, a baby-sitter and a first-aid technician.

He is supposed to apply the same rules to everyone. His job is to enforce the laws on the book whether he thinks they are good or bad.

He took an oath to uphold the laws, to be honest and to render service to mankind. Some cops don't live up to their oath. The bullies and crooks in uniform are too often the ones you hear about. The others do a good job, although it's getting tougher by the day.

An officer who loses his temper or who shoots at the wrong time can touch off a riot that might cost dozens of lives including his own. His saying either too little or too much can guarantee the freedom of a felon when a case goes to court. He is often called dirty names, insulted and harassed. If he breaks under the strain he can put a city to the torch.

Says New York City Police Commissioner Howard R. Leary, "It is sometimes said that police should not have to take oral abuse of the kind that is manifested so often in disturbances. But few policemen would deny that it is better to listen to hours of oral abuse than to change it with a single shot into days or weeks of rioting."

It takes specialized training, a dedication and a feeling for people to be an outstanding policeman. Competent police officers now believe their biggest job is working with communities to build a bridge of respect for law and order. They are starting with children just entering school in an effort to convince a new generation that the cop is a friend and not a bully.

Los Angeles Police Chief Thomas Reddin bosses one of the nation's most effective police departments. It is strong on training, top recruitment and indoctrination into the intricacies of dealing with the volatile social and antisocial elements of a big city. Reddin is among a group of modern police chiefs who believe and instill into their men that most law enforcement can be handled with a smile instead of a gun and a word rather than a whack on the head.

A far-flung search for new men, in which Los Angeles authorities now recruit at military bases where servicemen are being discharged, has helped give Reddin an exemplary force. His rigorous screening process accepts less than 5 percent of the applicants.

Physical fitness and mental alertness are primary requisites for any of the more than 200 different jobs open to men on the LAPD, as Reddin's wide-ranging department is known.

He is constantly campaigning to change the public's idea of the policeman and at the same time to get better pay for his men. When asked about the police image, Reddin says: "We have to change it. The fact is that the policeman is appreciated and the public is behind effective law enforcement. That's what we should get across." Low salary is a common complaint among police authorities nationwide. "The policeman is still at the bottom of the totem pole," says Tucson, Ariz., Chief Bernard L. Garmire.

Noting that almost every police department in the country is at least 10 percent undermanned, Reddin suggests that automobile bumper stickers reading "Support Your Local Police" be changed to "Pay Your Local Police."

The department's entire training procedure has been changed recently. Now an officer goes to school at the Police Academy much like a co-op college student, studying four weeks and working four. This routine is repeated throughout his training, providing a mixture of classroom and beat.

Such refined methods are impossible for many small police departments but Reddin feels that the right kind of campaigns can enlist more local support to finance and improve them.

He recognizes that the old days of cops-and-robbers are gone, when a policeman's job was simple if not always safe, in the past 10 years, it has become much less safe and much more complicated.

Why then would anybody want to be a policeman?

From interviews with officers in various parts of the United States, the answers take several directions. Security is a leading drawing card. In larger cities like Los Angeles and New York a policeman can retire on from 50 to 70 percent of his pay after 30 years of duty. With retirements go extensive health and insurance benefits.

Rookie policemen usually have only a high school education, generally the top requirement for an applicant. But most progressive cities encourage officers to continue their schooling and help pay tuition. The city of Denver will pay up to 90 percent of a policeman's college expenses.

A number of candidates for police jobs still are attracted by the excitement—and the authority—that comes with wearing a uniform and packing a gun. But a large number of police recruits take their oaths and are pinned with their badges because they feel a sense of contributing something to society.

When Patrolman George Polomchak joined the New York Police Department 13 years ago, he was given a pistol and taught how to use it. He was assigned to the 24th Precinct station in Manhattan's Upper West Side, a high-crime area that includes everything from near slums to Riverside Drive penthouses.

"You know, most people think a cop hauls out his gun and shoots at somebody about every other day," Polomchak said during a walking interview around his 25-block beat. "I actually can remember pulling my pistol only half-a-dozen times. And I have never once fired it on the job."

Polomchak and his partner, Robert DeSuzia, are two of New York's 28,000 Police Department personnel, it would be easy for them to get lost in a massive operation in which the city's squad cars travel 43 million miles in a single year. With the pressures on today's policemen, it would also be easy to get discouraged and quit. Polomchak and DeSuzia are too busy for that.

DeSuzia, whose assignment as school liaison officer puts him in touch with hundreds of children and their parents, feels one of the toughest jobs of the modern policeman is getting cooperation from the law-abiding public when something goes wrong.

"It used to be that people wanted to know what they could do to help," he said. "Now they only want you when they need you."

New York is working hard to change the public's image of the policeman.

"We are doing things today that a cop never did before," Polomchak said.

The 24th Precinct took on the job in earnest under Community Relations Patrolman Tom Kelly, with the backing of Precinct Captain Richard DiRoma whose office sometimes is overrun by small fry.

Upstairs in the station house, kids line up for rides on a six-foot-long rocking horse equipped with police saddle and bridle. Comic books, tours, films and lectures are more in evidence than handcuffs.

"Some of these kids come in here asking where the room is where we shoot prisoners and where we beat them," DeSuzia said. "We take away their fear and talk with them about the things a policeman does to help people."

DeSuzia told one group that he hoped some day to have an electric blanket that could be plugged into a squad car's cigarette lighter so that injured persons could be kept warm while awaiting an ambulance. "One kid wrote me, 'Officer Bob, I hope you get your electric blanket.'"

The juvenile-crime rate, although up for

the City of New York and for the nation, is down in the 24th Precinct, and the work of the police there must get major credit.

A key to the area's progress is liaison between the police and the populace through a number of community councils and block organizations. During the recent garbage collectors' strike, 24th Precinct police and community councils contributed equal amounts of money to buy big plastic bags for refuse. Their idea soon caught on city-wide, greatly diminishing the possibility of disease.

MARIETTA, Ga.—Not long ago Chief Ernest Sanders received a tip "from a reliable source" that moonshine liquor would be transported into his town at a certain hour. He and an officer staked out the delivery spot and at the appointed time the expected individual appeared.

When the man was ordered to halt he bolted into an apartment, not his own, and slammed the door. The officer with the chief broke open the door and the two policemen witnessed their suspect attempting to pour the evidence down the bathtub drain.

The "airtight" bootlegging case was carried to court where the defendant was promptly released by the judge. The officers had failed to obtain a search warrant before entering that apartment.

When the U.S. Supreme Court in the early 1960s dusted off the ancient laws protecting citizens from search and seizure, the rules were given such a liberal interpretation that many policemen feel they have been completely handcuffed in the apprehension and conviction of criminals.

Sanders, who bosses one of the South's best small town (28,000 population) police departments, was philosophical about losing his quarry.

In an interview at the modern new radio-equipped Marietta headquarters, Sanders asked some of his best men to sit in: Clarence (Robbie) Robinson, his training officer who graduated from the FBI Academy; and Officers W. Leon Reese and Dennis Graham, home town young men who "just had a hankering" to be policemen.

"You know, I wouldn't want to go back to the old ways where you could just walk up to the first guy you thought might have done something wrong and throw him in jail," Sanders said.

"Me neither," Graham said. "But you sure do have to be almost a lawyer to be a cop these days."

To learn what a policeman can and cannot do, Reese and Graham attend special classes. In their chief's opinion they have done much to bring up-to-date police methods to a growing city that was a country town a few years ago.

Reese and Graham have a realistic attitude about the maze of new laws which both believe will eventually lead to better police officers. They talked about it outside the hearing of their chief.

"You just can't work this job any more on the basis of pushing anybody around," Graham observed.

He said he gave up a position where he earned almost twice the \$440 per month he makes as a policeman.

"Don't ask me why I did it," he added. "I just couldn't tell you except I want to do something worthwhile in my town. I'm planning to make this a lifetime career."

"That's the way I feel about it, too," Reese said. "I tried all kinds of jobs before I took this one. I just kept wanting to do something useful and this seemed to be it."

In a national roundup of the opinions of leading police chiefs, the FBI found that failure to win public support was cited by almost all of them as a major problem.

"Lack of understanding by the public impedes the effort of the police officer and the effectiveness of his ability to do a good job,"

said Col. Curtis Broston, chief of police in St. Louis, Mo.

"Far too many Americans have only a passive interest in the problems of law enforcement," said Chief John C. Lawton of the District of Columbia police.

Superintendent Calvin F. Hawkinson, chief of police in Minneapolis reported: "Many men retiring from our department tell me it is too discouraging to be policemen these days."

Commissioner Edmund L. McNamara, head of the Boston police, feels that police departments must "sell a good police-community-relations program" and that law enforcement needs to become a real force in every community.

TUCSON, ARIZ.—This city has one of the country's leading police-community programs. Boss of the operation is Chief Bernard L. Garmire, currently treasurer of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Only two to four percent of the applicants to the Tucson department ever get into uniform. They must take emotional tests, including a lie-detector exam, to determine their fitness for duties that range from dealing with civil-rights problems to riding herd on big-time organized crime.

Garmire echoes the theme that prevention is the key to solving the crime problem. As is being done in New York, the chief has moved some of his best men into the schools as school resource officers. They have offices in school buildings and spend a considerable part of their time lecturing.

"Let's see your gun," an elementary pupil asked School Resource Officer Robert Sinclair after a recent speech to a class.

"No, son," Sinclair said firmly. "My gun is a weapon and it is made to kill. I never take it out of the holster for fun. It's not something to play with and I don't want you ever to play with a gun."

Sinclair is a cop from head to foot. He wears his uniform to lectures so his charges won't think he is some kind of school counselor.

Sinclair talks with hundreds of children about what their relationship should be with the police officer, the importance of going straight home from school, what to look for in appearance to recognize a suspicious character and the urgency of reporting such persons immediately to the police.

What should a child do if he finds something on the way home from school? Sinclair leads lively discussions about the bounds of honesty and ties the issue directly to the problem of petty thefts from school supplies.

Sgt. Price Fuller, holding a bachelor's degree, is in charge of the SRO program and finds it the most rewarding work he has had in the department. He stayed in police work because he had a horror of "getting stuck in an office somewhere."

Holding officers like Fuller is difficult for Garmire because he can only pay \$480 per month starting salary, considerably less than the Arizona Highway Patrol or nearby California departments.

Garmire had to sell the SRO program to parents and school board.

"They were a bit dubious at first but they said, 'Let's try it.' We started in a school that was just about average. We didn't want to get one with all the problems."

The officers selected for the school program were graduates of police-patrol institutes. Then they were taken before a board of principals for actual selection.

Student reaction to the program was overwhelmingly favorable with many looking at the school resource officer with something akin to hero worship. "It has helped everybody," is the common reaction of school administrators. Garmire's officers also study psychological aspects of the student body.

Situations involving such problems as pornographic literature and drugs bring the

SRO into the investigation immediately rather than weeks or months later. "Now we can deal with trouble while it's hot," a principal said.

Garmire is not one to cry over the liberalizing by the Supreme Court of constitutional freedoms.

When the Supreme Court handed down a 1963 decision specifying the steps an officer has to take in making an arrest, Garmire was one of the few to speak out for it. "At that time I said it was a blessing in disguise . . . With these decisions every community in the country is going to have to improve the police service. We've been mouthing for professionalism in the police service for many years. It has taken the Supreme Court to force us into professional attitudes and professional training.

"But these decisions have about quintupled police work and this means we are caught on the horns of a dilemma. We have to try to cope with the new situation with the same amount of personnel we had five or ten years ago."

Garmire has just initiated a new 80-hour seminar in community relations for his top officers.

"Remember that your attitude toward the public may be the thing that will cause us to have to use force to stop trouble," he said.

The chief told his men that until they could understand the problems of minority groups "you are not good police officers."

He urged them to show more consideration for the public. Friendliness, too.

"Wave at the kids. It doesn't cost anything."

Garmire sent the seminar home with these words: "Let there be equality in Tucson and let it begin with me."

SCHOOL SAVINGS STAMP PROGRAM

HON. DONALD D. CLANCY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to a very commendable program which has been promoted by the Finneytown Junior Women's Club of Cincinnati, Ohio, in encouraging the students of the Finneytown elementary schools to save and invest in the future of the United States.

This program is built around Stamp Day once a week. Volunteers from the Finneytown Junior Women's Club visit the schools during the lunch period to sell savings stamps. The children are given a special album for accumulating the stamps, and the filled albums are then exchanged for a \$25 savings bond at one of the local banks. The school savings stamp program is a project of the Federal Treasury Department, and works in much the same way as the war bond program offered through the schools during World War II.

Since the beginning of this year this program has promoted the sale of over \$5,000 in savings stamps in denominations of 10 cents and 25 cents. This clearly demonstrates the great success of this program and the desirability of having this program extended to other areas.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mrs. Donald Ballentine,

the president of the Finneytown Junior Women's Club, and Mrs. Jerry L. Randolph, chairman of the savings stamp program, as well as all of the members of the club who have spent their time in such a worthwhile service to their country and community. I sincerely hope they will expand their program to bring this fine example of thrift and responsibility to many more young people.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, a word of commendation is in order for all of the fine students who have participated in this program. Their deep sense of responsibility and civic interest is most laudable.

STUDENT AGITATORS JOIN RANKS OF "POOR" MARCH

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, evidence is continuing to build up showing that plans are underway to turn the massive demonstration now beginning here into a violent campaign. Apparently, the Attorney General is going to ignore any of this evidence and allow the demonstrators to carry out their plans without interference. Reporter Paul Scott outlined the recruitment of student agitators in this article in the Birmingham News, May 13:

STUDENT AGITATORS JOIN RANKS OF "POOR" MARCH

(By Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON.—The hard-core student agitators, who touched off many of the recent disturbances in the nation's universities, have begun gathering in Washington.

Anxious government security officials are warning that these reckless young demonstrators are being called into the Nation's capital by organizers of the "Poor Army" invasion to ignite a violent confrontation between the invaders and local law enforcement officials.

Many of these militant students, according to government security records, traveled to Cuba in recent years to confer with Castro lieutenants charged with creating revolutionary conditions in the Western Hemisphere.

In New York City the students are being recruited by Robert Collier, former student from Massachusetts convicted in 1965 of a plot to blow up the Statue of Liberty, the Washington Monument, and the Liberty Bell, following his return from Cuba.

Only an alert New York Negro policeman, who infiltrated the Collier group as an undercover agent, aborted their plans.

Collier, who boasts of his personal acquaintance with the late guerrilla warfare expert Che Guevara, has been working on the "Poor Army" march with the Rev. Frederick Douglas Kirkpatrick, of Gambling, La., named by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) as a regional organizer.

Kirkpatrick and Collier are jointly operating from a five-story building in New York, which was turned over by the city's Department of Social Services to a newly formed group headed by Collier.

Stoney Cooks, militant coordinator of student and campus activities for the SCLC, has been traveling around the nation to recruit and to involve students and the campus in the "Poor Army's" campaign.

Cooks, a veteran black militant organizer who came to SCLC as a college student during the 1965 Selma march, has developed work-study seminars and a Free University Institute to be conducted during the campaign in Washington.

He is also arranging for a summer task force of student "volunteers" to follow through on the "Poor Army campaign with assignments to help disrupt both the Democratic and Republican national party conventions in August.

In his campus recruiting, Cooks is promising personal meetings with Stokely Carmichael, the pro-Castro black militant, for students who come to Washington later this month.

Cooks also is handing out an appeal to students to join the "Poor Army" campaign from Dr. Ralph Abernathy, the figurehead leader who replaced Martin Luther King as head of SCLC. The appeal states:

"I urge all students who support this campaign of militant action to join us in Washington as soon as studies and examinations permit.

"We especially need students starting May 27, when we will be building up our demonstrations and preparing for a great march in Washington, May 30. We are encouraging students to come and stay as long as possible, if it becomes necessary to intensify the campaign beyond May 30.

"It was students who were the shock troops through the sit-ins, freedom rides, the Birmingham and Selma movements. We are now confident that students will become the shock troops of this campaign."

A two-way, often competitive, Communist influence has been inserted skillfully into activities of militant American student groups now trying to take over universities.

After prodigious inquiry and double-checking, Federal Bureau of Investigation agents have satisfied Director J. Edgar Hoover that the groups are receiving special Communist backing, consultation and cash contributions.

The competition, although it often follows the same guidelines, is between a veteran Soviet-sponsored students' international and assorted missions in Eastern Europe of the National Liberation Front, the formal identification for the Viet Cong.

Foremost, best-heeled and highly experienced in providing support and advice is the Prague-based International Union of Students (ISU).

Organized by the Soviet Union nearly 23 years ago, it has a worldwide affiliated apparatus. Leadership remains in the hands of professional Russian students in their mid-30s or older, plus equally veteran East Europeans.

Ironically, the ISU has kept itself lily white, excluding African students from high echelons as "undisciplined elements." Suspicion, correspondingly, has kept Viet Cong missions from having a kind of popular-front operation with ISU.

A do-it-yourself method of making Viet Cong flags has been distributed by the ISU, along with instructions on how to make fire bombs. Contributions, in money orders and small but numerous gifts of cash by donors using mail drops across the U.S., have fortified the deficit financing of many demonstrations.

Contacts with the ISU or Viet Cong missions by students are pretty easy. Any student traveling in Eastern Europe who showed a pro-Viet Cong or anti-American involvement knew about access to these offices.

According to U.S. security sources, the decisive battleground on the nation's campuses this year will not be on the front line, where students demonstrate and war with authorities.

Government officials looking on from Washington say that it will be in the strug-

gle to influence the middle-ground uncommitted elements of students and faculty opinion.

The issue, they say, is whether enough general university support will be given to the small minority who conduct sit-ins and carry out campus disobedience.

Past experience, as studied here, would indicate that the next move of the small minority will be to try to get support for their campus activities from national political candidates.

The objective of the Communist infiltrators in the student groups is to make sanctuaries on college campuses for revolutionary activities in nearby communities—especially those with large Negro populations.

REPORT TO THE DISTRICT

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I plan to send another report to the people of California's 29th District, which I represent, in the very near future. The text of this report follows:

CONGRESSMAN GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, MAY 1968

SEARCH FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM

The startling and dramatic developments of the past several weeks, beginning with the Presidents announcement that he would not be a candidate for reelection and had ordered a de-escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam, as well as the subsequent discussions getting under way with North Vietnam in Paris, have led to many inquiries regarding my own reaction to these events.

I feel very strongly that these events signal a major change by the President in his plans for the Vietnam war and he is entitled, therefore, to the sympathetic and understanding response of the entire nation for his personal decision to sacrifice his chances for another term as President to the need for national unity and for peace in Vietnam. He is also entitled to receive—and will receive, I am sure—overwhelming support from all citizens for whatever steps he must take to end the war in Vietnam honorably and quickly and to avoid the further sacrifice of American and Asian lives.

I shall give him this support as long as he honestly continue to seek these ends. As you may know, I have been urging just such efforts as we are now making for a period of more than three years.

RIOTS, RIOTERS, POOR PEOPLE, AND OPPORTUNITY

People who had been planning a visit to the nation's capital have asked me if the recent burning and looting has left things in some kind of shambles back here. I want to assure you that the Capitol is still standing (the timbers being used to shore up the west front are necessitated by age, not damage) and a tourist is likely to see very little of the riot area unless he makes a special trip to do so.

At the same time, block after block of the business area in Washington's "ghetto" was devastated following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King and \$19 million in insurance claims is stark testimony to the fact that only Los Angeles and Detroit have had more extensive damage done by rioters and looters.

Rioters must be punished

Several months ago I stated that when a man or woman deliberately participates in violence, looting and destruction, he or she must expect to suffer the full penalty of the law for this action. I am a co-sponsor of

the "Safe Streets and Crime Control Act," which the House of Representatives has already passed and which the Senate will act on shortly. This legislation is designed to give Federal aid to strengthen local police forces to help make them better able to deal with crime of all types—including riots, rioters and looters.

The civil rights bill which the President recently signed into law included anti-riot provisions which spell out criminal penalties for travelling in or using the facilities of interstate commerce to incite a riot and for manufacturing or teaching the use of firearms or explosives for use in a civil disorder.

Protests are not riots

I do not, however, automatically equate the riots with the protests of the poor people. I do not feel that the riots are wholly caused or can they be prevented by Congressional action or inaction on the host of legislative measures that should be passed to make this United States a better place for all of its citizens to live in.

The conditions that exist in the urban ghetto do, I must say, create a situation where a riot obviously can, has, and probably will occur. Therefore, we must quickly put a stop to any riot that might begin and then we must do our utmost to change those explosive ghetto conditions.

Nor do I believe that rioters are the same people as those who will be arriving in Washington very shortly in the "Poor People's March" that was conceived and planned by Dr. King. These are the people who, along with all the rest of us, would like to see an end to the destruction and are trying to impress Congress with the need for action that would help to eliminate poverty—the poverty that breeds riot-prone areas as well as irresponsible rioters.

LOCAL STUDENT TO WORK IN MY WASHINGTON OFFICE

I feel quite fortunate in that I will have Adina Savin, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Savin, of Monterey Park, working as a student intern in my Washington, D.C., office this summer. Adina is a sophomore at the University of Southern California and is a top student, majoring in political science.

PANAMA CANAL ALTERNATE ROUTE

The House of Representatives recently authorized an additional year before the final report is due on alternate routes for a sea-level canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans that might solve some of the problems we are experiencing with Panama over the use of the present canal. It looks as if there is a good possibility that a new route through Colombia could be constructed. A second canal would present us with alternatives we do not have at the present time.

SHOULD TRADITION BOW TO 3-DAY WEEKEND

By the time you read this, Congress probably will have passed a bill that would move Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, and Veterans Day so that they would always fall on Monday, and establish a ninth national holiday on Columbus Day, which would also be perennially on a Monday. This would assure us of at least five 3-day weekends each year since Labor Day comes on Monday, as well.

New Year's Day, Independence Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas were left untouched by the legislation, with Washington's Birthday slated for the third Monday in February, Memorial Day the last Monday in May, Columbus Day the second Monday in October, and Veterans Day the fourth Monday in October.

I suppose that we all have some pangs of conscience when we meddle with tradition such as, for instance, the changing of Washington's birth date. According to the Committee on the Judiciary, which studied the matter, there is a little confusion that sur-

rounds this date, which was reported to have been celebrated on February 12 on one occasion during the Revolution.

Memorial Day, also, is reported to have been celebrated on different dates before it finally settled down to May 30. The Committee felt that Veterans Day, which used to be Armistice Day and is celebrated on the date that the World War I cease-fire was arranged, could be moved to another date since it now traditionally honors the veterans of all wars.

The Committee felt that the inclusion of Columbus Day as a national holiday would be an appropriate means of recognizing the United States as a "nation of immigrants." Thirty-four states already recognize it as a legal holiday.

The Senate has not acted on this proposal as yet. If it finally becomes law, it would not take effect until 1971, giving the various states, industry, and labor an opportunity to make necessary preparations. Legally, the action by Congress would only establish these dates as official holidays for Federal employees and Federal offices such as the post offices would be closed. This, however, sets a general pattern for other offices and is usually followed. Labor agreements often refer to these holidays, also.

BRIEFING ON U.S.S. "PUEBLO" STATUS

Because of what must appear to most of us as inaction on the part of the United States, I requested and received recently a confidential briefing from the man who is heading the State Department's efforts to negotiate with North Korea for the release of the U.S.S. Pueblo and her crew.

The man who is on this unenviable hot spot is Winthrop Brown, former U.S. Ambassador to Korea, and I am convinced that we are proceeding in every way that is reasonable and prudent to effect a safe homecoming for the men who are being held prisoners. Ambassador Brown also assured me that, according to intelligence information that the Department of State feels is quite reliable, the men are in good physical condition and are receiving fairly good treatment.

QUESTIONNAIRE RETURNS COMING IN

The weeks in April which saw the President's announcement of de-escalation in Vietnam, his withdrawal from the election race, Dr. Martin Luther King's death, and the subsequent renewal of violence caused me to delay my annual questionnaire and to make some last minute changes in the questions asked. Therefore, it was a little late in getting to every household in the 29th Congressional District.

The returns are coming in at a heavy pace currently, however, and it appears that the new IBM card format which I used this year is being well accepted by most persons. The principle involved in this card is, by the way, the same principle as is used in the new voting machines in Los Angeles County which will be used county-wide for the first time in the 1968 Primary and General elections.

The machines are simple to use, however, and many areas have already become familiar with them during the recent municipal elections.

This process will enable me to tally and analyze the questionnaire results much more rapidly and at a much lower cost. If you have not yet returned your questionnaire, please do so as soon as possible.

SMALL BUSINESS ADVISORY COUNCIL MEMBERS NAMED

Three 29th District businessmen were recently named to 2-year terms on the Los Angeles Small Business Advisory Council. I was quite pleased, as I had recommended all three to Small Business Administration Regional Director Alvin P. Meyers.

The Advisory Council is composed of 28 members, and serves as the eyes and ears, as well as advisors, for the local Small Busi-

ness Administration office. Membership is drawn from small businesses, the banking field, and fields related to small business such as labor, news media, chamber of commerce, and the like.

The new members include:

Mr. James Madrid, who is in the auto parts business in Lincoln Heights.

Mr. John Raya, who has an insurance business in San Gabriel.

Mr. Morris Shucart, owner of a stationery firm in East Los Angeles.

Another local businessman, who was named to the Council last year on the basis of my recommendation, is Mr. Rigoberto Diaz, a South El Monte industrialist who lives in Monterey Park.

MORE CHANGES PROPOSED FOR G.I. BILL

The Education and Training Subcommittee of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs recently held two days of hearings on proposed changes to the "Cold War G.I. Bill," which authorizes educational benefits for returning servicemen. I am chairman of this Subcommittee, and among the proposed amendments we are considering are making these same benefits available to widows of servicemen who are killed on active duty and to allow disabled veterans to receive training on a part time basis as well as full time so that they will not be forced to quit their jobs, if they are fortunate enough to be able to work, in order to take advantage of this law. I am the principal sponsor of the latter proposal.

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS SHOWS PROGRESS

Last year I voted against the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill because I believe that we have lost sight of the intent and purposes with which this program was begun. Too much is now being used to support our military objectives and too little to truly aid the people of the underdeveloped nations in order to gain economic progress.

One bright spot in this picture, however, is the Alliance for Progress. This is our foreign aid program in Latin America administered through a cooperative effort by almost every Western Hemisphere nation. The future of the Americas is integrally involved with the need for mutual help, friendship, and the true concern of good neighbors in eliminating poverty, hunger, and ignorance throughout these two continents.

A few of the advances that have taken place in Latin America during the seven years since the Alliance was founded are:

The number of children enrolled in primary schools rose from 24 to 36 million.

Primary school teachers graduated annually up from 66,000 to 136,000.

Food production has increased 27%.

Electric power production rose from 60 billion to over 100 billion kilowatt hours.

Number of doctors up 26%, nurses up 60%.

Total road mileage increased by about 16%.

DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AFFAIRS

I recently joined in sponsoring a bill that would establish a Department of Consumer Affairs. A number of new laws designed to provide protection for consumers have been passed recently, and several others are under consideration. I reported on a number of these in my last Newsletter to you. However, there is a need for the consumer to have Cabinet-level representation in the Federal government, and the administration of all of the consumer-type activities would be placed under one Department in this bill.

In addition to placing agencies from throughout almost every existing Department and a number of independent agencies under a single jurisdiction, this legislation would give the consumer viewpoint an advocate at the highest levels of Federal administration. It would also authorize surveys and studies which would determine what further needs might exist in the area of consumer interests and protection.

SAN GABRIEL MISSION COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

I have introduced a bill that would authorize the Postmaster General to issue a commemorative postage stamp in 1971 honoring the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the San Gabriel Mission. This commendable effort was begun by the San Gabriel Chamber of Commerce and has been supported by a resolution from the San Gabriel City Council.

The San Gabriel Mission is one of the most significant in the mission chain which played such a vital role in California history. Congressmen Glenard P. Lipscomb and Edward R. Roybal have introduced companion bills. A final decision on this matter will not be made for at least two years.

ARMED FORCES EXPAND POLICE RECRUITING

The Department of Defense is now permitting any law enforcement agency to go directly to military bases for purposes of recruiting police officers. Previously this assistance was restricted to certain major metropolitan area police agencies.

DOD policy will continue to include the discharging of servicemen up to 90 days early if they have written evidence of an employment offer from an appropriate law enforcement agency.

NOTICE

My last Newsletter stimulated a large number of requests for literature. We have tried to fill all requests, and none were ignored. However, in a few cases, the person requesting the literature forgot to include his name and/or his address. Please be assured that if you have not heard from me it is not deliberate . . . and don't hesitate to write again because we are caught up to date on all inquiries that had return addresses.

DELANO'S AWARD-WINNING SCHOOL BOARD

HON. ROBERT B. (BOB) MATHIAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, we in California are proud of our schools, our teachers, and our students. We think there are none finer anywhere. The Delano Union Elementary School Board, in my district, has just been recognized as one of the outstanding school boards in the country by the Association of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association. The Delano board is one of the 24 across the country to be honored this year by the NEA's School Board Award program, a program cosponsored and made possible by the Thom McAn Shoe Co.

In a letter to the Delano board, Miss Routh Trigg, the president of the Association of Classroom Teachers commends the board, "for the fine contribution being made to education and also commends the Delano Elementary Teachers Association for its foresight to nominate the Delano Union Elementary School Board. We wish you continued success in your efforts to provide quality education for the youth of your community."

I have a special reason for calling the excellence of the Delano schools to your attention. Several weeks ago a national figure went to Delano and met with leaders of the United Farm Workers Or-

ganizing Committee. In his remarks he told his audience that "your children deserve and are entitled to better schools." The people of Delano and the administrators and teachers in the Delano schools were greatly offended by the suggestion that they do not offer excellent and equal educational opportunities for every pupil from every home.

I would like to include here in the RECORD a letter I have received from Norman E. Hefner, district superintendent of the Delano Union Elementary School District. I hope that Mr. Hefner's letter and the NEA award to the district's school board will make it clear to everyone that Delano schools, and indeed all California schools, are proud of their efforts to provide the finest education for every student.

DELANO UNION ELEMENTARY
SCHOOL DISTRICT,
Delano, Calif., March 25, 1968.

HON. BOB MATHIAS,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: For some time I have considered writing you. You have visited at least two of our schools and have some first hand information about the efforts expended by our board, community and staff in attempting to provide an instructional program which will more appropriately meet the needs of all young Americans maturing in an age which finds man landing on the moon.

During the last year and one-half the community of Delano has been number one copy on many occasions for the nation's top news media and much of the content of those stories has been distorted, untrue, exaggerated and, incidentally, unrecognizable to those citizens of the community that are unbiased, unprejudiced and, for the most part, un-affected or un-involved personally in the dispute.

Many well-intentioned and sincere persons have been victimized and misled on the basis of partial facts and generalizations about inequities and improprieties in dealing with agricultural laborers nationally which, by nature of the dateline and headquarters of the movement, are mistakenly assumed to be conditions of Delano.

Some persons in high places, have, for one reason or another, come, made a quick observation and then made public pronouncements which have aided and abetted and aggravated this confusion.

It is not the function of this school system, nor is it its intention to become involved in the labor organizational dispute. However, on several occasions speakers favoring the agricultural union movement have made public statements, which by lack of specificity implied that the schools in Delano leave a great deal to be desired in the way of providing for the needs of disadvantaged youngsters. Additionally, there have been several incidents involving officials of the Farm Workers Union and several of our schools where one might question the motives of those provoking the incidents. I must say in all fairness however, that there has been no instance of unfair publicity or unreasonableness resulting from these incidents.

Unless attempts are made by persons in leadership positions to "set the record straight" and challenge those who would distort, discredit, misinform and mislead, then we are begging the cause of justice and right, and opening the door for increased attacks and further misrepresentation of the facts.

This school system, beginning in 1954, established priorities and embarked upon a long range program to make the instruc-

tional program more effectively and adequately meet the needs of Mexican-American and disadvantaged children in Delano. Substantial and substantive evidence of the accomplishments and progress in the project are obvious and abundant, as you know, for anyone who would take the time and effort to inquire or visit. Included is a chronological listing of events and projects.

Senator Robert Kennedy, in a speech delivered in Delano on Sunday, March 3, at the ending of the Cesar Chavez fast, remarked in commenting upon areas in which the agricultural worker has not received equal and fair treatment—"your children deserve and are entitled to better schools". The wire services, as I mentioned earlier, carried this with a Delano date line and, more often than not, prefaced direct quotes with such statements as. . . "told the striking Delano agricultural workers" or "speaking to thousands of Delano's striking farm workers." Millions of TV viewers and readers of metropolitan dailies naturally envision all kinds of deplorable and inadequate school circumstances.

As Thomas Jefferson so astutely commented to the founding fathers "The success of a democracy is directly dependent upon an informed and literate citizen. . . therefore requiring a strong and comprehensive public school system". This charge was accepted by the board of trustees of Delano Elementary Schools in 1954 when they agreed and decreed that equal educational opportunity for all students required considerably more than equal dollars expended. In fact, it might very well require unequal expenditures in favor of those with handicaps whether they be physical, mental, emotional or socio-economic. They agree that the purpose of the public school is to insure that each student will most nearly meet his potential for becoming a self-actuating and productively independent American citizen assuming all aspects of his rights and responsibilities accorded him by the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Sincerely yours,

NORMAN E. HEFNER,
Superintendent.

DELANO UNION SCHOOL DISTRICT—LOCAL EFFORTS TO IMPROVE PROGRAM FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

1950-52. Emergency provisional credentialed people—35%, turnover—40-45%. 1965—provisional credentials—3%, turnover—15%.

1952. Parent-teacher conferences initiated to establish greater home-school rapport. District-wide turnout—60%, Fremont and Ellington—5%. 1965 district-wide turnout—88%, Fremont school—60%.

1953. Master building improvement program initiated.

1953. Mrs. Afton Nance, State Department, invited to assist district in initiating a study to improve instructional offerings.

1954. PTA unit established at Fremont school in hopes of increasing Mexican-American, Negro participation in PTA activities. This unit now as active as any in community—their annual Spanish dinner is the largest PTA money raising project in council.

1954. Long-term program initiated for upgrading the professional staff and improving their status.

1954. Staff visit to experimental school in Visalia operating on Rosenberg grant to learn ways of increasing effectiveness in teaching the Mexican-American child.

1954. Pre-first program initiated.

1959. Teacher visitation day arranged in order that staff might visit Fresno County schools reported to have strong programs for disadvantaged and bi-lingual children.

1960. Delayed reading program initiated.

1960. Non-graded primary program initiated to provide more individualized and continuous instruction.

1962. Summer school provided for Fremont school, both remedial and enrichment subjects.

1965. "Head Start" program provided—some 210 children participating. First one in Kern County. Judged "one of the most outstanding" visited by a Head Start expert.

1966. Fremont school selected by John I. Goodlad, Dean, UCLA Graduate School of Education, to join 19 other southern California schools in his "League of Cooperating Schools" project. Funded by the I.D.E.A. division of the Kettering foundation.

1967. Albany Park—Valle Vista schools opened. Team teaching complexes with no partitions and carpeted floors.

1968. The Teacher Education Professional Standards division of the NEA visited Albany Park and Valle Vista schools and selected them to join 200 odd demonstration schools across the nation. Schools are selected on the basis of innovative and creative programs and staff practices.

SMALL BUSINESS SUBCONTRACTING CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOP OUTSTANDING SUCCESS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Small Business Subcontracting Conference and Workshop was held today in the hearing room of the House Small Business Committee.

This conference, sponsored by the Small Business Administration, brought together the giants of industry and representatives of Federal agencies in an effort to accelerate and boost the voluntary subcontracting program for small business.

The meeting was most successful and demonstrated a concern by big business for the welfare and progress of small business.

It was emphasized that big business and small business are complementary in our great free enterprise system—both have their purposes and functions—both have certain economic areas in which they perform best.

Administrator Robert C. Moot of the SBA presented awards to several large industries for assistance to the Nation's small business community by cosponsoring a nationwide series of small business subcontracting conferences:

Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc., Mr. Karl G. Harr, Jr., president; Electronic Industries Association, Mr. James D. Secrest, executive vice president; National Securities Industrial Association, Mr. Joseph M. Lyle, president; Strategic Industries Association, Mr. Elmer F. Ward, president.

An award for outstanding public service in the furtherance of subcontracting to small business was awarded by SBA to Mr. Frank L. Dobbsin, vice president for materiel, the Boeing Co.

R. E. Dye Manufacturing Corp., Breckenridge, Tex., was named National Small Business Subcontractor of the Year.

Area winners were as follows:

Northeast area, American Standard Products, Inc., Hartford, Conn.; New York area, Lawrence Aviation Industries, Inc., Port Jefferson Station, N.Y.; Middle Atlantic area, Duro Manufacturing Co., Folcroft, Pa.; Southeastern area, Dubie Clark Co., Inc., Toccoa, Ga.; Midwestern area, Comet Tool & Die Co., St. Louis, Mo.; Rocky Mountain area, Lyons Manufacturing Co., Inc., Lyons, Kans.; Pacific coastal area, Vidar Corp., Mountain View, Calif.

Speakers for the conference included Mr. Leo C. Beebe, executive vice chairman, National Alliance of Businessmen, who delivered a ringing address on the responsibility of big business to our cities and their problems.

Other speakers included Senator JOHN J. SPARKMAN, chairman, Senate Committee on Banking and Currency; Mr. Lawrence C. McQuade, Assistant Secretary of Commerce; Mr. Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense; Mr. George Vecchiet, Director of Procurement, National Aeronautics and Space Administration; Mr. J. H. Hanshue, director of materiel, Lockheed-California Co., Burbank, Calif.; H. H. Hawes, Jr., director of materiel, Ling-Temco-Vought Inc., Dallas; among others.

Mr. Irving Maness, Associate Administrator for Procurement of SBA, presided.

This conference was a symbol of the partnership that must exist between big business and small business if our competitive free enterprise system is to flourish.

I commend those who arranged it—I commend those who participated—I commend the conference purposes and objectives.

TWO DEDICATED TEACHERS RETIRE

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, it will be my honor on Friday next at La Grange Hotel, in West Islip, N.Y., to be present at a retirement testimonial for two of my high school teachers, and it is my pleasure to memorialize their productive careers in the RECORD of this great Congress.

In the hurly-burly of rapidly moving world events we often forget much of the past and, sadly, some of the wonderful friends of our youth.

Among those we can never forget are those who impressed us so much, our schoolteachers. And these two men, Sam Dorfler and Leigh Cadwallader, I cannot forget. These dedicated men with 38 years of teaching career have indeed set an example for not only their present and former students, but for the teachers of today.

These men were hard taskmasters, but they exacted both hard work and discipline, but earned the affection of all of us. May they go on to greater successes in whatever their endeavors.

FREEDOM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, once again the ominous movement of troops through the ancient Polish corridor, this time in the direction of the Czechoslovakian border, strikes with terror at the hearts of the people of central Europe. This show of Soviet military force, at the very moment that the people of Czechoslovakia are enjoying new measures of freedom, is clearly calculated to create apprehension among the Czechoslovakian people who can never forget the shocking and coldblooded destruction by the Nazis of their village of Lidice, in June 1942; nor forget the fate of Budapest when Hungary resisted Soviet dictatorship repression in 1956.

At least tentatively the Soviet troop movements in Poland have been described as routine maneuvers. Yet this description must be measured against evident nervousness in both Poland and East Germany over the rising tide of freedom in Communist Czechoslovakia, coupled with sudden and unexplained trips to Moscow by Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia, who have unleashed these new forces of freedom.

Indeed, the Communist leaders in Poland and in East Germany have cause for their nervousness. Ideas of freedom are contagious, and neither Gomulka in Poland, nor Ulbricht in East Germany, can view the future with equanimity, since they have experienced in their own lands and on the part of their own peoples insistent demands for freedom and liberty.

There is a unique relationship between the United States and Czechoslovakia which gives special meaning to events in that country. President Woodrow Wilson played a vital role in the creation of that nation after the end of World War I. Thomas Masaryk, the George Washington of that nation, Eduard Benes, his successor, and Jan Masaryk, his son, maintained intimate official and personal ties with the United States and with the American people.

Even before the Czechoslovakian nation was formally established, the spirit of freedom which inspired the people of that region developed close bonds of affection between them and America. The great Czechoslovakian composer, Anton Dvorak, lived for 3 years in the United States. And it was here that he composed his "Symphony From the New World," a musical work that is as American as the Negro spiritual and as universal as humanity.

That same spirit of freedom is voiced by Karel Capek in his play "R. U. R.," which, with Elmer Rice's "The Adding Machine," stands as the drama's most eloquent indictment of the dehumanizing process of an industrialized and machine oriented society.

In view of the history of that nation and its people, it is hardly surprising that its present leaders are prepared to respond vigorously and affirmatively to

popular demands for freedom of speech and press and for freedom to criticize the acts and conduct of governmental officials. The quality of the cataclysmic changes taking place there was clearly set forth at a public ceremony last week by President Ludvik Svoboda, who said:

We have set ourselves the goal of democratic regeneration of our society. We are setting out to create a new type of socialist democracy, a democracy which will lend support to the full development of the human personality.

These are strange words for a leader of a Communist state and even stranger when accompanied by clear-cut actions pointing in that direction. I know that all Americans hope that the people of this nation will be permitted to move toward their new goals, without pressures of Soviet threats and troop movements. The tragic history of that nation makes it imperative that it enjoy the opportunity to realize the aspirations of its people.

"OILING THE DRAWBRIDGE"—AN ADDRESS BY STEPHEN J. TRACHTENBERG, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE U.S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION, AT THE 11TH WASHINGTON LEGISLATIVE SEMINAR OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS, MARCH 25, 1968

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I believe many Members will be interested in a most informative address by Stephen J. Trachtenberg, special assistant to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, at the 11th Washington Legislative Seminar of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers on March 25, 1968.

Mr. Trachtenberg's remarks point to the essential role that community groups and service organizations are called upon to play in the implementation of recent Federal programs aimed at improving our Nation's schools.

Under unanimous consent I place the address, entitled "Oiling the Drawbridge," in the RECORD at this point:

OILING THE DRAWBRIDGE

A little over 2 years ago when Commissioner Howe took office, the national dialogue about American education was already in full swing. Throughout each session of the 88th, 89th, and 90th Congresses, this conversation continually explored aspects of the expanding, changing role of the schools in our society. The challenge of growth and revision has been sounded by laymen and by persons well-known in the education community, through individual and group panels, conferences, and through the other varied means of communication within the American scene.

In the course of this debate, it has become apparent that, in the past decade, some of our schools have come to be regarded by some of their constituents as institutions resembling fortresses, castles, and even islands. It was striking to note that there were those among

the people who thought that the schools had become the means by which some students were isolated from society, rather than the means by which these students were brought to a fuller knowledge of the world in which they live. "Fortresses" and "castles" traditionally have suggested places of refuge against attacking armies. "Islands" have been symbolic of institutions which choose not to know their neighbors. Swift's satire on the wanderings of Gulliver points to the lack of wisdom in such a policy.

I do not think that we will ever return to the isolationistic circumstance. Yet, a few short years ago some observers argued that we had begun to skirt dangerously at the edge of a situation which could have led in some areas of the country to just such an isolation of one of our most singular institutions—our schools.

With the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Congress began to respond to the voters' articulated demand for action—to see to it that such an isolation never be allowed to take root.

BETTER SCHOOLS FOR LOW-INCOME AREAS AND EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as you know, established a program for support to local educational agencies based upon the number of children from low-income families residing in the area to be served. Its purpose has been to raise the quality of education and services offered to children in these low-income areas. To date, the progress that has been achieved through this billion dollar program has been remarkable. Many preschool programs have been initiated under this title. They involve the use of teacher-aides in the classroom, community aides to better school-parent ties, specially organized and equipped classrooms, and classes for parents of preschoolers on mental health, proper physical hygiene for children, and things as simple as home-planning and budgeting. More than 9 million disadvantaged children in 80 percent of the school districts in this country have been served through this program. Suddenly both halves of the class got to use Crest!

The most important features of this program, however, cannot, I suggest, be measured quantitatively. It is here, I think, that the positions of those who worry about cost-effectiveness are sometimes mistakenly overstated. I believe that one can't measure human programs and values in terms of dollars expended, with exactly the same precision that one might examine, say, weapons development. For the quiet revolution that Title I has started is just beginning to change the fact of education in our nation's poverty areas. For the first time, because of Title I programs, school administrators, government officials, community leaders, and other public officials have begun to agree that children must be healthy and well-fed if they are to learn and learn well. For the first time, community organizations have realized that the schools have a great need for all the talents that can be put to work to serve school children. Furthermore, for the first time all the schools in a community have jointly examined the routes that might lead to the best possible education for educationally disadvantaged students in their given area. You might say then that Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided the vehicle to open the doors of the school-fortress and to bring the community into the schools. It has oiled the drawbridge and brought it down.

Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has also initiated its own revolution, though it could hardly be termed a quiet one. Innovative school programs and services have brought increased educational opportunity to an estimated 10 million chil-

dren, classroom teachers, and parents. Projects have been funded in areas ranging from preschool education to coordination and integration of urban and suburban school programs. In particular, projects related to national concerns were encouraged under Title III, as some of the most pressing national concerns are to equalize educational opportunities, meet the needs of rural communities, and coordinate all community resources for metropolitan areas.

At this point I would like to discuss three example projects funded this past year under Title III. The first of these is an outgoing project for *Exemplary Education for Early Childhood* in Greeley, Colorado, supported by \$352,674 in Federal funds. The purpose of the project is to develop a program in early childhood education which would plan and design curricula for learning, construct individualized programs for the students, develop student teaching programs in conjunction with Colorado State College and retraining programs for teachers and aides. It is hoped that through this project a working model for other school systems will emerge and thus be available for the initiation of other projects in early childhood education.

One of the most important facets of this project has been the coordination with a full-year Headstart program, involving approximately 200 children from deprived areas. The Weld County Community Center Foundation, Colorado State Department of Education, private schools, a new nursery school, the Weld County Welfare Department, the City of Greeley and the Greeley Medical Association have all become involved in this project, as well.

The second project I would like to discuss is one that is still in the planning stages in Sumter, South Carolina. The project is one for establishing *Early Childhood Education Demonstration Schools* and will develop a demonstration center for pre-primary children aged 3 to 5. The purpose of the center is to raise the educational-readiness level of culturally deprived children, to provide a directed teaching setting to prepare teachers, to determine and demonstrate use of parents, staff, and helping agencies, and to demonstrate effective use of facilities, equipment, and materials. This project, once again, will depend largely on coordination with the many and varied resources of the community for its success. Community organizations that will be called upon for assistance include the Sumter Child Study Project, Child Health and Welfare Association, Junior Welfare League, Crippled Children Society, and the Chamber of Commerce to mention just a few of the groups involved.

Finally, I would like to describe a project in Newton, Massachusetts for a Cooperative Program of Education Between Urban and Suburban Schools. This project, which was funded for \$259,500, was designed for approximately 200 Boston students. The pupils are from elementary and secondary schools in the city and are attending schools in neighboring suburban communities. Once entered in a suburban school, the children continue with their future education in that community.

As you can see, all of these programs are significant in terms of expanding the concept of education beyond the walls of the neighborhood to include education which encompasses the entire scope of resources in a community. A little over two years ago they were non-existent. Now they are a reality, and, I believe, a first step in a positive direction.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967 introduced changes to this basic Title III program which are of interest both to community organizations and to the regular school systems. Title III as originally enacted was a program of direct grants from the U.S. Office of Education to the local school districts. Projects were fi-

nanced solely by the Federal government. State Departments reviewed the projects before final approval was given.

As the law reads today, starting July 1, 1968, State educational agencies will administer 75 percent of the appropriated funds; the U.S. Office of Education will administer only 25 percent. In 1970, State educational agencies will assume full responsibility for administration of the program. Most important, however, is the system authorized by the law for administration of the program. Beginning in 1968, State Advisory Councils, broadly representative of cultural and educational resources of the State, will be established to advise the State educational agency in the preparation of State plans and in policy matters, as well as to review and make recommendations on the action to be taken with respect to each application for a grant under the State plan. This is the point where organizations such as yours become extremely important to the continuation of this high-quality program.

As you might have noticed during my explanation of ongoing projects, many such projects are in the planning stages. The U.S. Office of Education, in carrying out its administrative responsibilities for Title III, relied heavily on advice from outside non-Government consultants and from interested community agencies in deciding which projects to fund and in evaluating the effectiveness of projects. This responsibility will now be shifted to State educational agencies. They will need the assistance of persons interested in reaching children of all ages, and particularly, those children who come from low-income areas. It will be up to community organizations to contribute their special competence to the State Advisory Councils, and to encourage the States to see that projects similar to those that I mentioned continue to be funded. Only through such involvement will the 23,000 school systems of the United States be able to continue their current planning projects as operational programs, utilizing the full resources of the community for the benefit of the students.

Moving on to another program of vital interest in the area of both early childhood education and of better schools for low-income areas, I would like to talk about our Headstart/Follow Through Program which launched 30 pilot programs for the school year 1967-68. The central concept of the Follow Through Program is to bring together the resources of school, community and family to help the child. Among the major criteria for approval of the Follow Through projects were fullest possible social and economic diversity, comprehensive instructional, nutritional, health, psychological and social services, and maximum use of school and neighborhood facilities—recreational, welfare, cultural, and social. Both local education agencies and community action agencies in special cases operate these full-year programs in cities across the nation from Buffalo, New York to Tampa, Florida, and from Morgantown, West Virginia to Salt Lake City, Utah. More than \$11 million is slated to be invested in this program during the 1968-69 school year.

From this description of the program, you can see just how the total concept of the community-centered school is evolving, and how important community action is in carrying out these projects, for which we have such great expectations. Once again, I make my special plea for your involvement in bringing about the success of such programs.

Another new program that I would like to explore at this time is the \$30 million demonstration program for the most effective means of preventing youth from dropping out of school. Under the legislation included in the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967, the Commissioner of Education is authorized to make grants to local educational agencies in urban

or rural areas which have a high percentage of children from low-income families and high percentage of dropouts. Funds would be used for projects involving the use of innovative methods systems, materials, or programs which show promise of reducing the number of children who do not complete their elementary or secondary education. Projects must be evaluated for effectiveness and approved by the appropriate State educational agency. Once again, community organizations will play an important role in the operation of this program. Settlements and Neighborhood Centers could be very effective in interviewing students and in encouraging them to participate in the new projects. Perhaps by working together, your organization's representatives and the local school officials could begin to make up for the years wasted by youngsters who drop out of school prematurely.

Finally, the last program I would like to discuss in the area of elementary and secondary education is the Talent Search Program authorized under section 408 of Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965. This program provides for grants or contracts with universities and nonprofit private organizations to identify qualified youths of exceptional financial need and to encourage them to complete secondary school. Projects would also encourage students to enter into post-secondary educational training, and would urge secondary school or college dropouts of demonstrated aptitude to re-enter educational programs, including post-secondary school programs. Contracts cannot exceed \$10,000 per year.

An example of the work that is being carried out by non-profit organizations under this authority is the project based in Trenton, New Jersey. There, the Trenton Action Bound project is working as one component of United Progress, Incorporated. The project works with 150 underachieving inner-city boys employing the educational theories of the British Outward Bound training, along with intensive guidance services. Strongly alienated youngsters from the Trenton ghetto are given the chance to experience success in activities such as canoeing, mountain climbing, and other strenuous out-of-doors activities. Children are also taken on cultural and scientific excursions, and given guidance in career-planning and post-secondary educational opportunities, as part of the project.

BETTER SERVICES FOR LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES

Moving to the area of adult education, the Higher Education Act, passed in November, 1965, marked the second major piece of legislation designed to bring the school and the community closer together. Title I of the bill, the Community Services and Continuing Education Programs, was to assist the people of the United States in the solution of community problems such as housing, poverty, government, recreation, employment youth opportunities, transportation, health, and land use. The program is administered through State boards under a State plan which gives grants to colleges and universities to strengthen their community service program.

This year, the Administration is proposing in its Higher Education Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15067) that 10 percent of the total funds appropriated for this Title be set aside for the purpose of conducting experimental or pilot projects. Grants may be made to both institutions of higher education and to public or private non-profit organizations in the instances when they may make an especially significant contribution.

An example of the kinds of projects supported through this program is one that was conducted by San Diego Junior College in California. The total cost of the program was \$50,000; 75 percent supplied from the Federal government and 25 percent supplied

from general college funds. The program was designed for older persons to widen self-limiting attitudes and to increase the number of trained workers helping them to overcome unsatisfactory living conditions. The most important feature of the project involved training the staffs of community agencies in the counseling of older persons about social security, Medicare, legal services, and educational and artistic opportunities.

Another project funded under Title I of the Higher Education Act was one conducted by the University of Hawaii. The need for a more informed public regarding policy matters was met with organized public discussions and dialogues on policy issues. Qualified individuals discussed issues on radio, television and in open meetings.

With the passage of the proposed amendment to include organizations outside colleges and universities, the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers could actively participate in setting up projects in the communities where such services are so desperately needed.

Still another program in which nonprofit organizations may participate is the \$8 million special projects program of the Adult Education Act of 1966. This year, the Administration is proposing in its Partnership for Learning and Earning Act of 1968 (H.R. 15066) that the set-aside for these projects be doubled because they have been so successful. One example of a project conducted by a non-profit private organization is that administered by the Laborers International Union of North America, local 423 (AFL-CIO) Columbus, Ohio. This union local is developing an occupationally-oriented Adult Basic Education program for union members and prospective members. The project is taking place in a learning center in a union hall and is designed to have four cycles. The first cycle includes classes two nights per week using job-oriented materials for instruction in the classes. The teachers, trained for adult basic education, have been oriented to the problems of the trade and of the construction workers. The program is also operating with the close cooperation of union officials, the Columbus Public Schools, and the Ohio State Department of Education.

It is my hope that, if the funding for these projects is doubled, more non-profit private organizations will be involved in projects, such as the one I just described. People outside the regular school system have done much recruitment of students and orientation of teachers in special projects, with innovative approaches to the elimination of adult illiteracy.

Further, the State agencies responsible for adult education (usually the State Departments of Education) also expend funds for special projects which may be conducted through private nonprofit organizations. They, too, find it necessary and wise to consult the officials and memberships of community organizations in formulating special projects for adult education.

I would also like to point out that Title I of the Partnership for Learning and Earning Act of 1968 authorizes \$15 million for special projects in the area of vocational education. Local educational agencies would submit project applications to the State agencies responsible for vocational education. State agencies would then forward their approval or disapproval of the projects to the Commissioner of Education who would take the final administrative action.

Although these projects must be funded through local educational agencies, they will be heavily dependent on the communities in which they are located if they are to accomplish the goals set forth in the legislation. Of special interest to an organization such as yours would be the suggestions for work experience programs established under the special projects section. These programs would include cooperative work programs, financial assistance to needy students, and

volunteer work of social value to the community. These programs would be a recognized part of the student's educational program with credit, grades and all experience recorded as a part of the student's cumulative record. Preference in compensated work under such programs or projects would be given to students from low-income families.

Finally, I want to list just a few other programs which may be of interest to you. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act is a program administered by the Office of Education to deal with problems occasioned by school desegregation. Technical assistance is provided directly to local school systems by grants to school boards and by short-term or regular session institutes at institutions of higher education. Technical assistance is provided directly to school systems by the Division of Equal Educational Opportunities professional staff assigned to regional offices and to the Washington Office. As of the end of Fiscal Year 1967, 270 grants and institutes projects have been supported.

In addition to providing assistance to school districts through grants to local boards and institutes, the Title IV program supports two other functions which serve the same purpose. Through University Desegregation Assistance Centers, a continuing source of consultation and training expertise is made available to school districts in the university area. Currently 12 such centers are in operation.

State technical assistance units in education agencies are also fully or partially funded under Title IV. Ten State technical assistance units have been established to carry out primary leadership and other responsibility in school desegregation matters.

The programs of the Education Professions Development Act and the Teacher Corps deal with training teachers for all children in the schools, and in particular, with training teachers and subprofessional aides to deal with children in deprived areas. In the future, these teachers and aides will contribute greatly to higher quality education and services for the children of the disadvantaged.

I think that this listing fairly well covers the programs of the U.S. Office of Education of interest to community organizations concerned with higher quality education in the nation's schools, and particular in areas where the standards of living may fall far below the national average. I might add that all of these programs would be greatly enriched by the participation of the members represented here today at the meeting of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers. Your local school board, junior and community colleges, and universities, as well as community action agencies, are the people to contact for information concerning participation in the programs. They are actively seeking assistance in making the concept of a community school—that is, a school where the community feels free to join in and help in this important business of education—a reality. They are trying to build bridges to the island or fortress school, in order to dispel forever the image of locked gates and darkened classrooms from the minds of the American people. They are looking for people to meet them half-way in their search. The rest is up to you.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG,
MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 114th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

POLISH AND JEWISH VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS JOINTLY CONDEMN POLISH ANTI-SEMITISM

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently two American veterans' organizations, one of Polish-Americans, and one of American Jews, joined in containing the mounting wave of anti-Semitism being presently conducted by the Communist Government of Poland against the Jewish people in Poland.

I am very pleased to include in the RECORD today a release issued by these two fine American veterans' organizations because it puts into proper perspective the contempt that all Americans have against the present Communist regime in Poland for its scandalous effort to make the Jewish people the scapegoat for its own failures.

The joint release follows:

POLISH AND JEWISH VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS JOINTLY CONDEMN POLISH ANTI-SEMITISM

WASHINGTON.—Two American veterans organizations, one Polish-American and one of American Jews, today joined in condemning the mounting wave of Polish anti-Semitism sweeping that unhappy country.

Joseph L. Pudlo, Jr., National Commander of the Polish Legion of American Veterans, U.S.A., and Samuel Samuels, National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. decried the vicious scapegoating of the remaining Jews of Poland, the few thousand left after brutal decimation by the Nazis, as allegedly responsible for the ferment in Poland today.

"The common ties that bind our two veterans groups, our Americanism and our service in the uniform of the United States in time of war, emphasize our joint voice crying out against the bloodless genocide threatening Polish Jewry today," stated the two National Commanders.

"On the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, when the brutal Nazi dictatorship murdered most of Warsaw's Jewry while another brutal dictatorship, the Communists, stood by in acquiescence, it is a doubly grievous blow to justice and harmony among men that people should still be persecuted solely because of their faith."

Americans of all backgrounds and men of good will everywhere were urged by the National Commanders of the Polish Legion and the Jewish War Veterans of America publicly to protest the persecution of Polish Jews by the Communists.

National Commanders Pudlo and Samuels also warned against the possibility of the deceptive trap lurking in Gomulka's "offer" to allow Polish Jews to emigrate at will. Too often, warned the two National Commanders, similar Communist "offers" have resulted in the Jews being marked as "enemies of the state" when they signed up for the promised emigration.

The joint statement of the two National Commanders marked the first time that these two national veterans organizations in the United States had joined in a common declaration.

The Polish Legion of American Veterans represent the more than one million Americans of Polish descent who have served the U.S. in American wars.

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America is the oldest active war veterans organization in the country.

MULE EXPLOITATION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Kipling or someone wrote:

It ain't the 'eavy 'aulin' wot 'urts the 'osses 'ooofs but the 'ammer 'ammer 'ammer on the 'ard 'ighway.

Whether or not the public relations buildup on the rich man's promoted Poor People's March has affected anyone's conscience, one thing is for sure. The mule lovers of America are stirred up and rising in protest.

Imagine 50 poor mules—jerked out of their normal livelihood of doing little or nothing—shod and exploited in the hot sun to walk those blistering hot highways nearly a thousand miles to Washington.

All this just for publicity. Can you imagine the pain those poor mules must by now feel—mile after mile on those newly shod feet. Surely no one, especially poor people, believe in cruelty to animals. Where is the Humane Society? What civil rights for mules?

What disposition will be made of the mules, when and if they survive the trek? Will they be humanely done away with behind the scenes or, as suggested by Congressman ABERNETHY, be freed to graze on the White House grounds—jackasses with mules—perfect together-ness.

I include a mule report from the Atlanta Constitution for May 12 and Drew Pearson's column of May 15 following my remarks:

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, May 12, 1968]

MARCH TO WASHINGTON: POOR FOLKS MAY BE HELPED, BUT WHAT ABOUT THOSE MULES?

I don't know whether the conscience of America has yet been stirred by the Poor Folks' march on Washington, but I do know this: The mule lovers of the country are beginning to rise up.

Mr. Henry Troutman, for example, the noted barrister, who used to plow what, in his time, was known either as a jar-head, or a hard tail, in the deep loamy bottomlands of Northwest Georgia, was particularly moved.

Did anybody know, inquired Mist' Henry, how many blacksmiths it would take to keep shoes on all those mules as they moved over the asphalt and concrete highways from Marks, Miss., to Washington, D.C.

And how many veterinarians it would take to keep rubbing liniment on those mules' sore and aching muscles?

Half of those mules, Mist' Henry said, would be string-halted in no time. It was hard enough to keep a mule shod when he was merely pulling a cotton wagon on the hard pan of a clay road, Mist' Henry said.

You try to walk him down a black-top road and he'd pull up lame or cast a shoe before you could say scat.

The mules' plight also brought a letter from my old friend, Col. John M. Virden, late of the U.S. Air Force, and before that, the son of a noted mule fancier in Bug Tussle, Okla.

"If the mules' feet withstand that long pull from Mississippi, which I doubt, they'll very possibly wind up in the Army's care out at Ft. Myer or Belvoir, where a certain

number of the ceremonial horses used in Arlington National Cemetery are cared for," Col. Virden wrote.

"But 50 mules? ! ! Hell, the Army has not seen 50 mules in one bunch since Merrill's Marauders marched out of Ghamo in the Burma campaign of 1944. And we wound up having to eat those mules when they broke down under the heavy packloads of ammo and the mountain guns.

"Mule meat is not bad, about like horse, though maybe a little more coarse-grained and stringier. God knows it beat that water buffalo, which is tougher than sole leather regardless of how you cook it.

"But it was such a pity—for those were the finest mules I'd ever seen, and I grew up with mules. My father bred, and raised mules. I can't remember when we did not have a jack and a herd of brood mares . . . and a bunch of mealy-nosed mule colts every spring.

"Incidentally, in the small world department . . . the other day I was talking to Dr. Keeler, the vet who looks after my tomcat, and he asked me where I was in the war. When I said in the CBI . . . the whole bit out there in confusion beyond imagination . . . Doc Keeler said 'I took a whole shipload of the finest Missouri mules to Calcutta in late 1943 . . . purtiest animals I ever saw . . . and the meanest; if they couldn't bite me they'd kick me, if they couldn't kick me they'd step on my foot.

"A year later I heard that not one of those fine mules ever came back alive . . . those the damn Army did not work to death they ate . . ."

"Those were our mules all right. . . . But I doubt if these 'starving poor people' Brother Abernathy is leading into Washington would eat a mule.

"So, somebody had better figure out what to do with 50 Mississippi mules during this camp-in. . . . My deepest sympathy is with them."

Col. Virden and Mist' Henry both spoke so feelingly, that I got the definite impression that the presidential aspirant who makes the greatest impact on the electorate won't be the one who expresses the deepest concern about the plight of the poor folk camping out on the White House lawn; he'll be the one who expresses the greatest solicitude for the mules.

[From the Washington Post, May 15, 1968]

MULES IN WASHINGTON

(By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson)

It's been a long time since mules were a problem in the Nation's Capital, but Rep. Thomas Abernethy of Okolona, Miss., is a man who understands mules and is concerned about them.

Rep. Abernethy is a member of the District of Columbia Committee, and when the quartering of the Poor People's March was under discussion he was interested in the quartering of its mules.

"What," he asked Mayor Walter Washington in a hearing, "are you going to do with all those mules the poor people bring in? Where are you going to put them?"

"It is beyond sanitation," replied Mayor Walter Washington. "It may be a police problem."

Rep. Abernethy—"The policemen don't look after the mules. I understand there are 25 teams alone of mules coming up from my state. If all those mules are brought in here, where are you going to put them? What plans are being made to take care of these mules?"

Mayor Washington—"It is a police matter. Chief, do you care to speak on this?"

Chief Layton—"I don't at this moment have any firm information on how many or what they are going to do. Now, of course, if they use mules or horses or animals of that kind to pull a conveyance and they

move through the city, through the streets, as with other traffic, there would be no need for any police action. As to housing them, we don't have any facilities in the police department for that."

Rep. Abernethy—"What I have reference to, this deals with the expenditure of funds of either the District or the Federal Government. I don't know who is going to pay for this. I don't think anybody has thought about it. Certainly they are not going to have these mules roaming all over the city of Washington. They have to put them somewhere, someone has to pay for it. I want to know what plans you made to take care of them."

Mayor Washington—"We are not passing it. I thought you were trying to get at a police matter. The matter of how many mules or where they are going to be depends upon where they are going to be established. We have been in touch with the Interior Department and the Justice Department as to the entire matter. This is only one facet of it, the matter of public safety. There have been no permits requested, for instance, although there has been mention of a number of sites."

Rep. Abernethy—"If they bring in as many as we hear they are going to bring, it will cost a lot of money to look after them. Do you feel that the revenue of the District of Columbia should be used for the purpose of taking care of these mules?"

Mayor Washington—"Certainly not. I understand that the matter of their expenses are taken care of by their own resources. When we get a fairer idea of how many and what kind of conveyances, we will be in a better position to deal with it."

Rep. Abernethy—"We have only one fenced-in place in this town capable of holding the mules and it is around the White House grounds."

Mayor Washington—"We don't have any intention of putting them over there."

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago today, the independent State of Israel was proclaimed in Tel Aviv after the British mandate of Palestine had ended. Since that day the people of Israel have worked unceasingly and successfully to build a modern, viable nation despite hostility from both their natural and political environments.

As Americans, we all share a sense of gratification in observing the anniversary of Israeli independence. In the strategically important Middle East, Israel stands as a solid bastion of freedom and democracy against the forces of aggression and totalitarianism. The entire free world has a loyal friend and ally in that ancient land that was reborn a short 20 years ago.

To be sure, Israel is a very young nation. But during its 20 years of existence it has performed miracles which would have been considered impossible in 1948 and which are still highly improbable in the Arab States surrounding Israel. Three-quarters of Israel's food is home grown, irrigated land has quadrupled, and cultivated land doubled in the past

two decades, 450 new farming villages have been established since statehood, production has quadrupled, and the value of agricultural production has increased tenfold. Much of this agricultural increase has come from lands considered waste prior to the advent of Israel: swamps, deserts, marshes, eroded hills, and areas drained of their productive capacity. The nation of Israel has quite literally turned the desert into a garden.

Israel's economic and cultural progress is due to three factors; the pioneering spirit that inspired immigrants who responded to the challenge of the once desolate area; the feeling of the people that they are partners in the enterprise of rebuilding their ancient homeland; and the skillful use of modern technology and science.

The State of Israel is a peace-loving nation which recognizes the folly and futility of war. Israel realizes her destiny is bound up with that of humanity as a whole and thus has constantly striven to live in peace and cooperation with her neighbors despite their aggressive character.

The United States was the first nation to recognize the State of Israel. Our faith in her has been more than justified. Israel has provided a brilliant example for all the world of stability, progress, and prosperity in a democratic society.

JUDGE BERNARD OSTROVSKY

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of personal sadness that I announce to the U.S. House of Representatives the death of my dear friend, Judge Bernard Ostrovsky of the Cleveland Heights municipal court.

The Greater Cleveland community has suffered a great loss at the passing of Judge Ostrovsky. Bernard had long been active in public affairs in the Greater Cleveland community—having served as a municipal court judge since 1958. Previous to his service on the bench, he was an executive assistant to Cleveland's former mayor, Anthony J. Celebrezze and was assistant law director for the city of Cleveland under the former mayor, Thomas A. Burke. From 1948 until 1952, Bernard Ostrovsky served as Cleveland's superintendent of public relations and research.

In November 1965, as a commemoration of his 50th birthday and 20 years of service in public life, 700 friends, fellow jurists, and municipal officials attended a testimonial banquet in his honor and in tribute to his fine service to our community.

Judge Ostrovsky served in the European Theater during World War II. He has been continually distinguished in his work in highway safety standards, and was a recipient in 1961 of the American Bar Association Traffic Court Award—one of only 41 such awards made in the country. He was an active member of

the Cleveland, Cuyahoga County, and Ohio State Bar Associations, the Ohio Municipal Judges Association, the Disabled American Veterans, Jewish War Veterans, and American Legion.

I feel a deep personal loss at the passing of this distinguished American. I wish to convey the sympathy of my wife, Betty, and my family to Adrienne, the judge's wife, his son, Mark, and his four daughters, Teri, Mara, Dena, and Nicole, as well as his brothers, Leonard, Peter, and Edward. There will be a great deal of consolation, I know, to the whole family in the fact that Bernard Ostrovsky has left a record of excellent and dedicated public service as his testament.

ISRAEL'S 20TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on this date 20 years ago, the ancient and noble Jewish people returned to Israel. They had been gone for almost two millenia and the "land of milk and honey" was a desert, a wasteland.

On May 15, 1948, the State of Israel was proclaimed. Since that time, we have seen a modern miracle. The desert has bloomed, and borne fruit. A handful of people have grown in number and faced the adversities of man and nature in order to remain free and have a homeland. Jews from all over the world who have not found security or tolerance in many other lands, have come to Israel in order to be free. They have finally found a home and a place where their children could grow up without fear of oppression.

In 1948, at the moment of independence, Israel did not know which nations were her friends. She knew that she had enemies, for they had declared themselves beforehand and vowed her destruction. But almost immediately the United States stepped forward as a friend of Israel. President Harry S. Truman declared to the world and to Israel that the United States recognized the sovereignty of the State of Israel and welcomed her as a sister state of the free democratic nations.

The years intervening has not been easy for Israel. She has had to defend herself by force of arms, and has had to face the economic and social problems concomitant with her policy of accepting all Jews who wish to immigrate. But she has managed to thrive despite all the difficulties. Israel may be considered young at age twenty, but she has called upon the wisdom of centuries of Jewish tradition to guide her in many problems of a developing nation in the 20th century.

She has been fortunate to have many leaders of stature, honesty, and brilliance. Adversity has served more to inspire the people of Israel than it has to defeat them. The Israeli love of freedom and need for survival have helped this

small nation rise to each call for sacrifice, dedication, and labor.

It gives me great pleasure today to congratulate Israel on her 20th anniversary and express my hope for the continued friendship between our countries and people.

HERSCHEL C. LIGON TESTIFIES CONCERNING FARM CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Herschel C. Ligon, president of Registered Farmers Inc., Lebanon, Tenn., recently testified before the House Committee on Agriculture and made perceptive and timely recommendations in regard to agricultural programs.

I want to commend and congratulate Mr. Ligon for his devotion to the cause of the American farmer and American Agriculture, for his untiring efforts to improve programs and conditions in our rural areas.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this important subject, I place Mr. Ligon's testimony in the RECORD.

The testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF HERSCHEL C. LIGON, PRESIDENT, REGISTERED FARMERS, INC., BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, MAY 1, 1968

Gentlemen, am honored that you have invited me, a farmer, to testify before you. I think, I represent the only organization in the world, in which you have to be a farmer, to be a member.

My roots are deep in agriculture—my farm, my father's farm and my sister's farm have never belonged to anybody but my family—they were granted from the government of North Carolina. My father's house is the oldest house in Wilson County, having been built in the first administration of George Washington.

One thing that really bothers me is, if this farm economy doesn't change immediately, I will be the last farmer of this family because I can't conscientiously encourage my boys to farm, because they can't make a living—one enters college this fall and the other enters high school. Both are excellent farmers—both would like to be farmers. They can do practically anything on the farm I can—along with my 77 year old father we own and operate 250 acres, breeding registered Poland Chinas, Polled Shorthorns and Hampshire sheep and use no hired labor. Every year it gets harder to make a living and we get deeper in debt. If my wife didn't have a part-time bookkeeping job, we couldn't wear decent clothes.

I am proud of my government—think we have the greatest in the world—am proud I gave it four years of my time in World War II, and many years since in the National Guard and Army Reserve. If my Commander-in-Chief asked me to, I would be willing to come out of retirement and go to Viet Nam.

I well remember the depression of the thirties—my father sold hogs for 3 cents per pound, and I remember his receiving a cream check for a total of 3 cents.

I was most happy to see President Roosevelt begin the federal farm program, which saved the nation's economy by saving the

farmer's economy, but for a number of years our federal government has been putting the Registered Farmers out of business. When I use the term Registered Farmers, I mean people who earn at least 75% of their total income from farming.

The federal government has taken all the risk, and I guess it has more than any other profession, out of farming for non-registered farmers. They can't lose—all they lose on their farming operation counter-balances the profit they make on their other businesses, putting them in a lower income tax bracket. In 1965, of the 119 millionaires farming, only 16 paid income tax. Over half the people with a \$50,000 or more annual income, with farming operations, showed a loss on their income tax return.

Under the federal farm program, a non-registered farmer can buy a woods, charge the cleaning up off his income tax and under the ASCS program get the federal government to terrace, lime, fertilize, seed, build a pond and fence it. Then he goes to the market with cattle in competition to us Registered Farmers, who don't have the capital to participate in the ASCS program. I repeat, the non-registered farmer can't lose, but when the Registered Farmer loses, it is gone.

The nation's average taxpayer is tired of paying taxes every week, and the non-registered farmer using farming for tax write-off. The nation's average taxpayer is also tired of his taxes financing a federal farm program that is putting Registered Farmers out of business, when it was originally established to assist them.

We Registered Farmers propose the federal government adopt the three following proposals as a solution to the farm problem:

1. 100% parity of price for Registered Farmers agriculture products produced and or finished by them and sold on established markets by grade.

2. Not allow non-registered farmers to participate in the federal farm program.

3. Not allow non-registered farmers to use farming as tax write-off.

I have seen it proven from the President's Economic Report that a dollar spent by a farmer puts seven dollars into the nation's economy. I have also seen it proven, from the President's Economic Report, that for the past 16 years, the nation's farmers have been underpaid 422 billion dollars. Multiply that by seven and you get two trillion nine hundred and fifty-four billion dollars the nation's economy has been shorted—to make up for this, the nation had to go in debt a thousand billion.

When farmers have money to spend, much is spent with small business, which is also suffering from this economic situation.

In 1966, all farmers in the country received \$3,281,621,070 in ASCS payments. I ask you, what percent of that went to Registered Farmers? I think you will find only a small percentage.

Everybody tells us that RF's solution to the farm problem is the fairest and simplest they have heard—nobody is fighting us. Many ask how many members have we? We are a new organization, and will never have many members, because there are not many people eligible for membership, and this is good because nobody will ever get all farmers to join one organization. The many, many average taxpayers will help get this program adopted because they are in sympathy with Registered Farmers, and they want their tax money put to a better use and they don't want nonregistered farmers using farming for tax write-off.

We RF think, after maybe five years of receiving 100% parity of price and the elimination of the unfair competition, we will bet back on a supply and demand that will bring balanced economy, and we will not have to have a federal farm program.

If surpluses has been the problem, I think you will find most of the surpluses are pro-

duced by non-registered farmers, because Registered Farmers do not have the finances and can't afford the risk. I also think you will find surpluses increase when prices are low—100% parity of prices will take care of this. Registered Farmers never try to get rich—all they want is a decent living for their family.

It has been said, we have too many farmers. We do not have a surplus of farmers; we have a surplus of people farming.

Many say the farmer has to become more efficient. I have had experience in other professions besides farming—I say parity of income improves efficiency more than any other thing.

The morale of the Registered Farmer is about as low as it has ever been—something has to be done now to save the family farms, because they go with the American way of life—like pie goes with a picnic.

Many of this nation's greatest leaders have come from the family farm, and speaking of this, some of the nation's leading law-makers have farms, but we all know they are the caliber of people that will put first what is best for their nation in solving the farm problem.

I am convinced, as long as there is a world, we will have wars—the best way for us to keep from losing one is to produce the quality soldier it takes to win them—there is no better source of supply than the family farm. The late Sgt. Alvin C. York is an example.

The strongest and greatest society is a balanced society—we need farm boys and girls to keep this balance. How many farm reared boys and girls do you find in the student riots?

The greatest product from the family farm is one that not enough people think about, that is, boys and girls that will work, know how to work, and above all have good character.

Since preparing this statement, have been informed my older son Bill has been chosen for the second consecutive year, Middle Tennessee's Outstanding FFA Livestock Farmer with a \$11,000 inventory. His closest two competitors had \$90,000 and \$150,000 inventories respectively.

DETROIT FREE PRESS AWARDED PULITZER PRIZE

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, no greater honor can come to any writer than the winning of a Pulitzer Prize. We, of the State of Michigan are indeed delighted that this significant award has been granted to the staff of one of our great newspapers—the Detroit Free Press.

The Pulitzer citation says:

The prize for a distinguished example of local, general or spot news reporting by an individual giving consideration to alertness, resourcefulness and high quality of writing.

Awarded to the Detroit Free Press for its coverage of the Detroit riots of 1967, recognizing the brilliance of its detailed spot news staff and its swift and accurate investigation into the underlying causes of the tragedy.

The Detroit Free Press staffers were rewarded equally for their brilliant spot news coverage and their long and detailed inquiry into the manner in which each of the riot victims died.

In many ways this was the most difficult journalistic assignment domestically during 1967.

While this distinction was given to the entire staff of the Detroit Free Press, the Columbia University Award committee did specifically mention the names: City Editor Neal Shine, Assistant City Editor Curt Luedtke, Washington correspondent Phillip Meyer, and reporters Gene Goltz, William Serrin, Jr., and Barbara Stanton.

Certainly our congratulations should also include Publisher Lee Hills, Editor Mark Etheridge, and Executive Editor Derick Daniels.

The chairman of the editorial board of the Knight newspapers, John S. Knight, was also a recipient of a Pulitzer Prize for his fearless and sound column which also appears in the Detroit Free Press. I do know that most men in public life turn to John Knight's column for its most clarifying evaluation of our national and international problems.

These are all most courageous and able men who have devoted their lives to the public good and are certainly worthy of the commendation of us all.

TRUTH IS COURTS DO IMPEDE CRIME WAVE

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, we have all heard many times the pronouncements of those who seek to place the blame for our social ills upon the courts of our land. Only on rare occasions do we find statements of fact which substantiate the continuing increase in criminal convictions resulting from the advancing efficiency of our courts.

Recently California Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk cited the fact that felony convictions have increased from 80 percent in 1947 to 87 percent in 1966. This statement prompted the Sacramento Bee to editorialize on May 7 concerning this subject. For the benefit of my colleagues the editorial follows:

TRUTH IS COURTS DO IMPEDE CRIME WAVE

Some critics of this nation's outstanding judicial system have had a field day going about the land feeding the fears of the timid, contending the courts are at fault for all sorts of social ills.

Particularly they blame the courts—and more especially the United States Supreme Court—for "coddling criminals."

One of the most vociferous exponents of this distortion is Max Rafferty, a candidate for the United States Senate from California.

He contends the "great national crime wave started about the time the Supreme Court started interpreting the law the way it thought the law should have been written."

No coddler of facts, this Rafferty.

What is the truth?

California Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk recently stated it. In a talk before the Santa Monica Bar Association he said: "A dispassionate study of authoritative figures demonstrates that our courts are more effective, deterring crime more vigorously and convicting more guilty defendants than ever before in our history."

Official statistics cited by Mosk show the

number of persons convicted of felonies in California jumped from 10,209 in 1947 to 32,000 in 1966. Instead of dropping because of court decisions, the percentage of those persons charged with felonies who were actually convicted has jumped from 80 percent in 1947 to 87 percent in 1966.

Despite all the controversial decisions which are supposed to be handcuffing our police, Mosk said, the number of criminal defendants who have pleaded guilty has gone up from 8,190 in 1947 to 23,089 in 1966—the highest in the state's history. These increases are greater than the increase in population.

The true situation is, as Mosk stated it, firm and severe justice is being dispensed in California in spite of those who contend the courts are not alert to the rights of all citizens.

FOOD FOR PEACE: WHAT IT MEANS FOR IOWA

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and as a representative of a key agricultural area, I support extension of the Public Law 480 program, also known as food for peace or war on hunger.

By passing this bill, the Congress and the Nation will again demonstrate their determination to help the peoples in the developing countries win their desperate race against hunger, disease, and ignorance. At a time when agricultural production is fighting a grim battle with a booming population growth, this program more than any other gives hope to millions of people throughout the world that the gap can be closed between what is now possible and what can be possible.

Yet this program which has rendered so much valuable assistance to friendly developing nations and to millions of hungry people, has also benefited the American farmer. Under Public Law 480 \$17.2 billion of farm commodities have been exported since 1954. This amounts to 25 percent of the total U.S. export of farm products.

Public Law 480 has also meant a great deal to the farmers of Iowa. The last available figures indicate that 10 percent or \$41.7 million, Iowa's total export share of the U.S. agricultural export, resulted from Public Law 480. This export under Public Law 480 has been particularly beneficial to our feed grain, livestock and dairy farmers as the export of their products constitutes the largest share of the \$41.7 million.

From the beginning the basic idea has been that the eventual goal of each country program should be the development of a commercial market to replace the gifts or concessional sales being made under Public Law 480. In practice this "graduation" theory has been proven over and over again. For example, Japan which during 1956 and 1957 received 30 percent of its farm imports under Public Law 480, increased its dollar purchases from around \$300 million to more than \$900 million in 1966. Growing cash

markets in Israel, Taiwan, Korea, Italy, Spain, and the Philippines and other countries are presently helping our balance-of-payments problems. Indeed, of the 22 nations participating in Public Law 480 programs in 1967, only four had no dollar-payment provision, while six countries moved to payments in dollars or convertible currency.

The importance of developing commercial markets for American agricultural products, is again underscored by the proposed House amendment to this year's legislation which seeks to establish the policy that the United States should get a "fair share" of any growth in commercial agricultural markets in developing nations. I support this amendment as it will serve to promote the best interests of the farmers of Iowa and of the farmers of this Nation as a whole. The Congress cannot expect concessional sales to be made in developing nations by the United States and then have the commercial markets taken by our competitors.

I think, that the American farmer can be both justly proud of and satisfied with, the accomplishments of Public Law 480. This program, which is living testimony to our farmers' productivity, has "changed and is changing the lives and fortunes of millions of people" while at the same time it is helping to maintain a strong domestic farm economy here at home.

GENEVA: CITY OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, last week I had the opportunity, honor, and pleasure to represent this august body in Geneva, Switzerland, at an important session of the Intergovernmental Commission on European Migration.

It was a highly rewarding personal experience and I hope a satisfactory one for the Congress through the Judiciary Committee, and that is not the subject on which I wish to speak today.

My subject today is Geneva—a fascinating city, legendary for its hospitality to individuals and nations; a city of hope where nations and their representatives mingle in a spirit of fellowship in the search for peace and understanding.

In 1964, Bob Considine, famous feature writer for King Features Syndicate and Hearst Headline Service reduced to words a glowing tribute to this unique city, and to the man who represents the United States with the international organizations there, Ambassador Roger W. Tubby.

Under unanimous consent I include Mr. Considine's article so that my colleagues can join me in a visit to this ancient yet modern metropolis, albeit vicariously.

The article follows:

[From King Features Syndicate, Nov. 19, 1964]

ON THE LINE WITH BOB CONSIDINE

GENEVA.—If man ever learns how to live in peace with his neighbor, this spotless city might well become the first capital of the world, many of the agencies which work in fields calculated to persuade the peoples to stop killing and eating one another already are located here. Their work is often breathtaking in scope and effectiveness, yet all the agencies combined attracted less attention in recent months than Cassius Clay drew with one incarcerated hernia.

Last year more than 3,000 meetings having to do with international cooperation were held here at the Palais des Nations, once condemned to be razed as an upsetting reminder of the collapse of the League of Nations. The Palais is now too small to hold all those groups of many colors and ideological graduations which look to Geneva, a city of scarcely 280,000, as the world's best common meeting ground.

Roger W. Tubby, our ambassador to the European Office of the United Nations and to Other International organizations, calls Geneva an "International smorgasbord of activity." That's virtually an understatement.

It has been the home of the International Red Cross for a century. Your radio, television, telegrams, telephones and a lot of the communicating with satellites passing overhead would not work nearly as effectively if it were not for the International Telecommunication Union, the oldest (99 years) of all of the United Nations family.

Here are a few samples of what some of the other working bodies of UN are doing, on direction from their offices in Geneva:

In September of this year, 3,000 scientists from 70 nations attended the Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. They agreed that the world will run out of coal and oil in 75 years at the present and projected rates of use. Incredible new developments in atomic energy have produced the forerunners of reactors which one day will simultaneously de-salt all the water a city needs, provide all the electric power the city needs, and in the course of "burning" its uranium fuel will breed more plutonium than the original pile of uranium, and has found a way to make the cinders more valuable than the exhausted coal.

Out of conferences such as this one the deserts will bloom, ships will sail endlessly without fuel stops, the seas will be mined for previous ore and other treasures, and harvested for food. Food preserved by a bolt of radiation remains fresh, wholesome, tasty for inconceivably long periods, without refrigeration. In the bursting enthusiasm of the session, Russia pledged to build a fleet of atomic propelled ice-breakers to make the arctic navigable for world shipping the year around.

Ever hear of bilharziasis? More than 20,000,000 inhabitants of the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates who suffer from it look to the World Health Organization for help—which is always ready and willing. It is caused by tiny worms in human veins. It was described on papyrus 5,000 years ago. Autopsies of mummies have disclosed that the mummified died of bilharziasis thousands of years before there was a western culture.

You seldom hear of yaws either. About 100,000,000 human beings live under the threat of this crippling disease. Since 1950, some 300,000,000 have been examined in internationally-aided campaigns. An astonishing 40,000,000 have been treated with penicillin. In some areas the proportion of active cases has dropped from a whopping 20 per cent of the population to half of one per cent.

The greatest killer in the world today is malaria. Trachoma claims about 400,000,000

victims, filariasis another 200,000,000. All these aches, pains, all the compounded ignorance and suspicion of mankind is being worked on 24 hours a day by the 116 international organizations in Geneva, including the International Organization for Standardization, which standardizes the nuts, screws and bolts without which man can no longer engage in the industrial rebellion. Who said UN doesn't work?

ISRAELI INDEPENDENCE

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today we celebrate two decades of Israeli independence. Twenty years ago today a blue and white flag with the Star of David was raised over Israel, thus signaling the birth of a new nation.

Independence for Israel was more than a proclamation and flag raising however. Surrounded by hostile Arab nations, Israel had long been the target for terrorist raids and other acts of aggression. With independence, these acts of aggression increased in intensity; border towns were raided, public works were sabotaged, and the civilian population was subjected to constant harassment and violence. The constant threat of military aggression was compounded by the difficulties of developing a new nation; the arid desert was not friendly to the Israeli farmer, and food was grown only with the maximum of hard work; natural resources were scarce, and the new nation had to depend on foreign imports for much of their supplies.

In spite of these difficulties, however, Israel prevailed, and after visiting Israel a few weeks ago I can say that the progress has been truly remarkable. For in spite of the many handicaps facing this young nation, she has one resource which compensates for every other problem—a vigorous, dedicated, hard-working citizenry. The desert has been turned into a lush farming area by the ingenuity and labor of her farmers; new, modern buildings are rising in many areas; modern highways reach to all parts of the nation.

The military threat has also been repulsed on three occasions, and will be beaten again if the Arab nations are foolish enough to try. For it is obvious that while Israel is one of the smallest nations in the area, it is without doubt the strongest.

But we must not be content to boast of Israel's military might; we must remember that Israel is fighting for survival, and that even one defeat would be fatal; we must remember that the 800 Israel soldiers killed in action in the 6-day war is equivalent to 80,000 Americans being killed in a 6-day period; we must also remember that the Arab nations have been rearmed by the Soviet Union, and that their terrorism and aggression continues each day.

Therefore, our policy in this area should be to seek peace through every means at our disposal, but to be prepared for the possibility of renewed hostilities. We must make sure that the Russian

equipped and trained Arab nations are not capable of winning any major battle; only America can insure the continued survival and prosperity of the free democracy of Israel.

RICHARD COTTEN'S CONSERVATIVE VIEWPOINT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Richard Cotten's Conservative Viewpoint, Box 1808, Bakersfield, Calif., is heard nationwide on radio.

Mr. Cotten is a fearless patriot who serves constitutional government well by speaking "loud and clear" on many facts and issues which otherwise would never reach the public.

One of Mr. Cotten's March broadcasts was so clear and forthright that I asked for a copy for my personal use.

I include Mr. Cotten's broadcast, "Loud and Clear," in the RECORD for our colleagues' perusal:

LOUD AND CLEAR

This is Richard Cotten bringing you conservative viewpoint.

Several things need saying. As a nation we find ourselves on a toboggan ride aimed full speed toward eternity. Speaking in the terminology of the computer age, all the "inputs" are present for the total disintegration of the Great Society. Unfortunately, in the cataclysmic occurrences that we are faced with, the innocent will suffer tragically.

I wonder, though, just how "innocent" we truly are. Isn't this "our" government that we allowed to transform our institutions of freedom into a collectivist society? If you point one finger—the index figure—at whatever or whomever you may wish to, take a look at your hand. Three fingers of the hand are pointed directly at you, or if I do the pointing, at me! In other words, do we not get the kind of government we deserve, and did not too many of us listen to the siren song of "come and get something for free"?

So now we will pay. And generations yet unborn will pay. But—if we will keep our eyes on what is really important, someday, again our children or their children will be truly "free."

I am going to try to be just as objective as possible, but I am about to paint a picture that could be pretty bloody. It has to do with values that I believe are of much more importance than whether we have two cars in every garage, full employment, or a so-called "great" society. I am going to try to present my thinking in relatively unemotional terms but yet you must recognize that I am well prepared to accept a concept that maybe the greater number of those now living in America will perish tragically.

First we must decide what is of permanent value! What are the things we should truly cherish? Is it how many horsepower in our automobile, or how many rooms in our home, or whether we are air-conditioned, or whether our speed-boat is faster than our neighbor's? The answer is "No!" Obviously these are not matters of permanent consequence.

Let's take a look in another area. Are these "permanent values" related to college degrees? In other words, simply because our sons and our daughters have graduated from college, is this, alone, something of permanent value which we should cherish? Or should we not look deeper and learn what

they have learned. And frankly, today we should fear what we may see.

Again, in the realm of permanent values, we are told that we are the "best fed" nation in the world, but we die very young, and many suffer the tortures of the damned as they die, with all nerves severed—that portion they have not been able to remove surgically, strapped to a bed. This could be cancer or some other degenerative disease. So, if we are "healthy", why do we die so tragically?

Another area of permanent concern centers in the matter of race, and this must be approached honestly. Do we honor God by mongrelizing? Did not He make the races, place them in their separate areas, and establish the boundaries? This *supposedly*, we believe!

With just these few aspects that I have touched upon—we can see that not only is our government in unbelievably poor shape, but that we also are in very poor shape, unless we can recognize what is of permanent value. We are desperately in need of something in which we can believe.

Every nation has a culture. This is basic. Cannibal nations, complete with witch doctors and burnt offerings and the eating of human flesh, do reflect their "culture." In other words, there are certain things in which they believe.

Our nation, however, deteriorates so rapidly, so tragically, because we have absolutely nothing in which to "believe."

The Universities of which I spoke, admittedly, may give a "degree." But in the process they take your child or mine, and undermine all forms of authority. They train the child away from the parent, away from "narrow nationalism" and away from any fundamental concept of God in which they may have believed. I for one, would tremble to picture the day when I would stand before God, answerable for those precious souls He had placed in my care, if I had simply turned their "upbringing" over to the Universities. Better they washed dishes or joined the navy. (Sometimes you get to do both. I did, as a child of seventeen.)

As a nation we are completely "neutralized", because we no longer have anything in which we can believe! If you confess Jesus Christ as your savior, you are considered old-fashioned or a freak. If you profess pride in your race (irrespective of color—there is absolutely no reason why every "color" should not be encouraged to have pride in itself as a "color" or race) you are a "racist", a "bigot", and not permitted utterance in polite society. Try to imagine a modern youth who would so "honor his father and his mother" that he would publicly acknowledge that he would take no steps without seeking his parents' advice, and that he would respect that advice rather than that of the "liberals" who try to shape his destiny.

We are constantly told we "have never had it so good"—and we listened, tragically. We are suddenly and abruptly being brought to the realization of what happens when a centralized power tries to stay in power—through the use of fiat currency. So I say to you, certain events must take place. Not because I will it so, but because it is already written in the book of Fate. Not because God willed it so, but because we, who were given "freedom", let a centralized form of government take it away. And therefore, before we can even begin to see what must occur, and before we could begin to accept what *must* occur—irrespective of how tragic—we must first decide what is of permanent value. We must reaffirm just what "we believe."

First then, and infinitely more important than anything else: Do you believe in Jesus Christ—God in human form—Who died for our sins, so that you need not perish but have everlasting life. If you would but believe? Take that away and you are lending credibility to the liberals' contention that

you are only "matter in motion" and if you ARE only "matter in motion", why you might as well be fully utilized by the State (you would be recognizing that the State was God—if God isn't, then surely the State is God) and you would serve "them" in any capacity that they deem necessary!

Never forget that it was the great Fabian Socialist, George Bernard Shaw, who spoke on this subject with complete honesty: His excellent "Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism" declares:

"I also made it quite clear that Socialism means equality of income or nothing, and that under Socialism you would not be allowed to be poor. You would be forcibly fed, clothed, lodged, taught, and employed whether you liked it or not. If it were discovered that you had not character and industry enough to be worth all this trouble, you might possibly be executed in a kindly manner; but whilst you were permitted to live you would have to live well."

How's that for honesty! Keep in mind that President Johnson has publicly proclaimed himself more of a Socialist than Roosevelt and has constantly worked for socialism under the title, "The Great Society." Oh, how I wish the "masses" that he is wooing with his brand of "Bread and Circuses" (only it is now public housing, free maternity care and an increased Federal check for every live delivery)—oh, how I wish those "masses" could learn what has to happen to *them*, ultimately! "If it were discovered that you had not character and industry enough to be worth all this trouble [feeding, clothing, employing] you might possibly be executed in a kindly manner." That is Socialism, and ultimately, it would be true of The Great Society!

Back to basics. If you do not honor Jesus Christ, your Risen Savior, if you believe you are but "matter in motion", why not simply let yourself out of your misery? Why fight it? Why even claim morality? Why not just "take while the taking is good", and then smash it when you get tired of playing? I don't know how else to start any discussion of "permanent values"—these have to start with what *you* believe!

I have a Savior. His name is Jesus, and He has proclaimed His love for me. No power on earth can take that away from me. He wants *you* as well as me, but first, there is something you must do. First, you must believe!

After that, the next steps fall in order very nicely. Recognizing that we "believe", we see that God intended Man to be free! We recognize that probably the greatest single event in all of recorded history was the signing of the Declaration of Independence with the subsequent acceptance of our Constitutional form of government, a government designed to "bind man down with the chains of the Constitution" and therefore to insure that we remain free! But it said nothing about the "Great Society." I recognized that if you were to have the "right to fall" you would also have the "right to succeed." Everything about our Constitutional form of government was the antithesis of the Great Society. Yet we lost sight of the fact that Government cannot "give" anything that it doesn't first "take." We betrayed our heritage.

If we are looking for these "permanent values", we must first turn to Jesus Christ, and then to the Constitution of the United States. And this means we must recognize that anyone who tries to change our form of government, thereby proclaims himself our enemy. This is true of Socialists, whether they call it the "New Deal", the "New Frontier", or the "Great Society." Collectivism, and Centralization of Authority, are our enemies. They are destructive of our Constitution, and it is only the Constitution that guaranteed we should be free.

Poets have proclaimed, "Breathes there a man with soul so dead who never to himself hath said, 'This is my own, my native land,'" In other words could there be anyone with "soul so dead" that he does not love his own country? Seemingly there are those who do not, and I mean the leaders of the "Great Society." They want "internationalism"; they vilify those who want "nationalism", and yet they rule us because we have complacently stood by while they captured the purse strings.

I love my land; I love my God; and I am aware that every person holding public office in America has taken a solemn and binding oath to defend our Constitution against all enemies, both foreign and domestic. There is not room for both the Constitution and the Great Society!

The next step in what is of "permanent value" has to do with what we are, "genetically" and organically. It has to do with quality. No, all men are not "equal". Some are giants and some are pigmies. Some have intelligence and in others this is lacking. Some have industry, while others simply leech.

We are told that God made Man in His "own image." This I believe. Yet there are aborigines who still prefer to crawl, rather than to stand, and who have not progressed beyond the Stone Age. I do not accept the concept of evolution. I do accept that Man is made in God's own image.

Yet we are told that He also created the races. The Bible is a very "racist" book and also, I might mention, quite "anti-semitic." but that's another story.

Race has to do with "genetics." If we do not face this situation squarely and honestly, we will all perish. Dr. Revilo Oliver expressed the question quite nicely: "Have we, the men of the West, lost the will to live?" To survive, we must answer—immediately. To fail is to perish.

As we seek "permanent values," let us consider the billions upon billions of tiny cells that make up our bodies,—each one a complete universe! We must guard what we are so that we do not have "sick cells" and thereby do not subsequently have "sick organs," so that we do not have degenerative disease.

We must watch what we eat, what we drink, and what we breathe, or we shall not have normal, healthy, mentally alert progeny. Every cell in your body is replaced periodically. In general terms, every few years you have an entirely new body. But to keep it well you must stay away from processed foods and you must inhale and drink and eat only that which God gave us. It must be "organic," — not some chemical monstrosity.

We are a sick people, sick at heart, mind and body. We must return to what is basic. And in this brief broadcast, I have tried to sow some seeds.

PART II

I will continue with this evaluation of what I feel must inevitably transpire before we regain control of our Constitutional Republic. I stressed the point that we must first know what we believe before we can hope to resist the collectivist society.

In summation I tried to establish that as a nation we lack conviction; that we are weak and growing weaker—not only physically, but morally and mentally—and above all, we lack the central motivation that inspired our forefathers who founded the Republic: — that deep abiding faith in Jesus Christ and God Almighty.

Secondly we must recognize, as did Gladstone, that "... the American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." We must realize as we "pledge allegiance to the Flag and to the Republic for which it stands," that it is impossible to have both the Republic and "Democracy." We must analyze quietly and carefully, fully cognizant of the implications

of our confessed loyalty, that the day may come, in the not too distant future, when you, too, may have the opportunity to "... pledge your lives, your fortunes, and your sacred honor," in the defense of a Savior and a Constitution in which you profess to believe.

And thirdly, having rededicated ourselves to both Jesus Christ and the Constitution, we should guard what we are genetically, God—not man—made the races, and those who rush headlong into accept concepts contrary to all that history teaches are making tragic mistakes. God will not be mocked indefinitely.

If satanic forces working constantly to undermine Western Civilization were fully understood, we would realize that one of man's most basic instincts—that of Pride in Race—is being deliberately distorted to cause malice and hatred. Some are beginning to comprehend, although but dimly. God willing, in due course all will understand, and instead of governments insisting on race-mixing, the attributes of each race will be recognized and lauded, and all will be encouraged to develop in their parallel societies. God, not man, made race. This has been recognized throughout all history until now, right this minute in history. But this, too, shall pass, and it would be my prayer that the "sins of the fathers" (and the mothers) not be too numerous, because surely it is the generations yet unborn who will suffer the most tragedy.

In concert with what I have stated, we must guard ourselves "genetically"—or possibly the better word would be "organically." It is now possible to alter the very chromosomes so that for once and all we are altered, unalterably. Chemicals, mostly inorganic and many with hideous side effects, are being forced into our society constantly. The very food we eat, the beverages we drink, and the air we breathe, are contaminated and we sicken and die, under the torture of the damned, because we violate God's natural law. We react to some stupid TV advertisement about processed foods, chemical digestive substances, or some other such deadly nonsense, and then we wonder why we break down and have to line up to have our very organs removed surgically!

Such things affect the whole man; even your God-given brain-power is affected, but that cannot be altered through surgery. Instead we live "half a life," sick but still on our feet—instead of *living* we are simply reacting. And we react mainly to the drivel that is being fed to the nation through the controlled news media. We are sick at mind, we are sick at heart, and we are sick physically. We cannot hope for any lasting victory over any form of tyranny unless we are whole—spiritually, morally, and physically.

Down to basics again. If you accept my premise that we must first honor God, as revealed through Jesus Christ, and secondly that we must "defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic," we must see that the moment of truth is fast approaching. Somewhere in the not too distant future, we are going to have to put on the whole armor of God, grasp firmly the torch of liberty, and, if it be God's will, we will have the victory. Don't ever discount His power. Don't you decide what he is capable of doing, but do realize that He does *most* of His work through human agencies. That means you and me—if we don't shortchange Him. It is written that in due course "every knee shall bow to Him"—right now our human minds might view this as an impossibility. Not so. He does rule and this shall come to pass, but not at a time of our selecting. Let us "occupy" and glorify Jesus and defend the Constitution against all enemies "both foreign and domestic." Keep in mind, everyone holding public office in America has taken a solemn, binding and sacred oath to "defend the Constitution against all

enemies, foreign and domestic." Socialism, and socialists, are our "enemies."

Let's keep this simple. The moment of truth is fast approaching. The battle is not between "Communism," per se, and the United States; it is between Humanism, expressing itself in the demand for a One-World Court, a One-World Bank, One-World Government, and the very unique concept first fully developed less than two hundred years ago—the concept of a Limited Government—recognizing that you, the individual, are important in the sight of God, and therefore guaranteeing to keep you Free!

We are selling our freedom for a mess of pottage.

The moment of truth could take several forms, but first let me preface my remarks with these: I do not believe it is important exactly how many survive the pending breakdown in our society. I do not think that having 200 million air-conditioned, chromium-plated, pleasure-seeking United States citizens honors God in any particular fashion. In fact, quite the contrary. It is completely consistent with what I have been trying to develop to suggest that God is vitally interested in Quality! And also, He deals with "remnants" throughout all of recorded history.

We can always repopulate. With man's presumed ability to conquer disease (even as he poisons his environment including the very air he breathes) presumably in very short order, man could repopulate the earth following any major catastrophe. Daily we are told that there are very real dangers of our overpopulating. So I should not shock too many by a rather brutal assessment that I am not particularly concerned about how many survivors there may be, but rather, I am concerned as to their quality.

Two opposing forces are about to shake the earth in what will probably be the largest battle ever fought in all of recorded history. We must look rather like a David facing a Goliath, but this should not cause us any concern, because it has been said, "If God be for me, who can be against me?" To God will go the Victory.

These two forces, simply stated are "Collectivism" on the one hand, and "Freedom" on the other. Call them what you may, we are in a tug-of-war between those who want to remain free—having Freedom under God; recognizing that Man is important in the sight of God—and those who want to centralize all power into a collectivist, humanistic Society. Now, if we end up in the latter, someone will have surrendered the former, and that person or group of persons would have violated their oath of office to "defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic."

We shall fight, and we shall have ultimate victory. Man was not born to be enslaved—not even to the Great Society.

I share with you what I see. I cannot give the exact dates, but I can say that what I suggest is very liable to happen. In fact, it could start happening almost immediately. Furthermore, it may even be that we, the "Men of the West," have lost our "will to live" and, if so, we will not resist tyranny. I am going to make the opposite determination, however, because I think that deep down inside many of us—despite the brainwashing, the fluoridation, and the drugging; despite the oft repeated phrases of "bigot, racist, narrow nationalist, right wing extremist" and all the rest of the garbage—despite all this, I believe that many of us, even possibly most of us, are still dedicated to what our ancestors fought and died for, and that has to do with this irresistible force deep in man's inner being; a driving force—to be free!

PART III

A monetary collapse faces the nation momentarily. The boys with the printing presses have reached the end of their rope and Gold

is going to conquer, as it has through all of recorded history. No, I do not worship gold, but I do know it to be an honest measure (albeit subject to dishonest bankers) and there has to be some "medium of exchange." We have violated every economic law known to man and we are going to pay—tragically. The much vaunted Federal Reserve has in no wise mitigated the basic dishonesty of having government manipulate the money supply. It has simply added crime upon crime and charged interest for participating. It also "centralized all authority" over our banking system, so that when the tragic end of the cycle becomes obvious, we have nowhere else to turn. It is no longer a matter of a bank failure. It is now a matter of the *failure of our currency.*

The President of the United States has equipped himself with a set of so-called "Executive Orders" which, stripped of their legal trimmings, simply make him a total dictator, if and when he determines that, *in his judgment*, the nation is faced with either a military—or an economic emergency! What freedoms we have left can be snuffed out in a twinkling. Oh, obviously for the "good of the country." Nevertheless, we could waken to find ourselves in a state of slavery.

The next step is obvious. The "state," meaning this self-proclaimed dictatorship, (the Constitution is subservient to the "Executive Orders") would tell us what we must do; what we must pay for "goods and services," and *that we must accept little pieces of green paper in payment*, irrespective of how little we trust this check-book currency.

On the pleasant side of the ledger this situation cannot continue indefinitely. Some will rebel, bless their hearts, and they may be shot down in the market place, but the idea of resisting tyranny can be very, very catching. We will ultimately resist Federal tyranny, and if we are very fortunate, we may have the opportunity to do so in the election booths. If that is denied us, we will still resist tyranny. Why? Because man was born to be free, and more than any other nation on the face of the globe, Americans know what it is to be free. Oh, I don't mean this generation maybe not even the previous generation, but men yet living can remember before we had the Federal Income Tax; before we had the Federal Reserve Bank; and before we surrendered the election of our U.S. Senators to the same "masses" that elect our Representatives. All the carefully worked out "balance of power" has been thrown into the discard because some sinful weak men turned to the Federal government, thinking somehow the Federal government was going to give them something "for free."

It will not work, this federally imposed tyranny! This centralized form of government will lack the ability to enforce its will for several reasons, but most particularly, because its "power of the purse" will be radically diminished. No longer will it be able to "buy and sell" with approximately one hundred and seventy-five billions of dollars as an annual budget. It will have to rely on some form of real wealth to try to enforce its will upon the nation, because we will no longer be impressed with printing press money.

Reducing it to the simplest form, goods will no longer flow to market and the man on the job throughout industry will no longer continue at his lathe, or his gas pump, or oil well, because he will be out in the country foraging for his family. Yes, mobs will roam the streets. We will form vigilantes. It would be amusing, were it not so tragic, to see the Federal government's "Crime Commission" bewailing the fact that our cities are planning to use strenuous methods to combat mob activities! I would remind the Federal government that governments are instituted among men for one basic reason only—To protect that society! If it cannot do this one simple task, then it will be cir-

cumvented, and law-abiding citizens will do what is necessary.

Mobs will roam the streets. And I do not suggest that this will be limited to any particular race or color. We have raised a generation that is sure that the world owes them a living, and if they can't earn it, I believe they will try to take it. Keep in mind the basic prolonged attack we have witnessed upon all considerations of morality. Civilized man wears his mantle of inhibitions very uneasily. It does not take much to bring out the worst in most men, and any major breakdown in our society would undoubtedly herald in a period of unbelievable anarchy.

So be it! We can survive, and again I stress, in God's sight, it must be much more important to deal with *quality* than *quantity*. Did you ever think to dwell on just how very fortunate the Christian is? Through Christ he overcomes the grave, and whether or not he survives this period is of really very minor importance, except possibly to him or her, individually. Why did the Marines at Iwo Jima expose themselves to enemy fire just for the purpose of raising the flag? Because the cause they believed in was more important than self, and because of that, we were led to victory. So too, through Christ, shall we have the final victory. Don't be overcome with fear of what must transpire on the short term. Keep looking for the ultimate victory.

If I am right, we will have two forces contending. Oh, I do not fear "Communism" in the United States for many reasons, most of which should be very obvious. In the first place, the satellite states will revolt and the Bolsheviks will begin to be executed all over Europe, because we are no longer in the business of keeping them going. Slaves will revolt, and when we no longer pump our "foreign aid" into the hands of their captors, the Christian nations of Europe will revolt, and the scourge of communism will be eradicated. I don't doubt this for a minute. If you doubt it, re-study the implications of Hungary.

If I am correct, we will have a federal government become a dictatorship—and as I say, the Executive Orders that presently exist are exactly that and nothing short of it. This Federal government must maintain its payroll in order to proceed with its plans for the "Great Society", which to me is nothing short of slavery. Yet, at that very time, we will not be accepting their printing press money for goods and services and obviously there will be "anarchy."

At this point I believe that we in America can do what no other nation has been able to do. I believe we can lead the world back to sanity. Because, despite some Supreme Court decisions, we are still ruled by a Constitution that does not grant powers, but *limits* powers, and we will re-study the basic fact, that our separate states *are* sovereign, and we will stop looking to Washington for handouts, and get back to the task of maintaining our sovereignty. Each State has a good and adequate State Constitution. Each state also signed the Constitution of the United States, a binding, bi-lateral contract limiting the powers of this centralized authority. There is no legal base for ninety-nine percent of this so-called "law" emanating from Washington, most especially the Supreme Court decisions. We must and will reaffirm our "States Rights" and, doing this, we will regain our sovereignty.

Will this be a neat, orderly process? Of course not, but on the other hand, the alternative is slavery! Some states will do very well, thank you, and others will be sunk in anarchy and terror that probably will have no parallel in all history. But, keep your eye on what is central to our theme. We will turn to our State Houses! We will have emergency sessions. We will restore law and order, and we will emerge a Republic, with the Separation of Powers guaranteed by that most wonderful of documents, the Constitution of the United States.

Let me go back a bit. Following "anarchy" (mobs in the street, rape and looting, burning and pillaging), there will come some form of vigilantes. Ideally, this will be the City-State functioning, or if it is in the hands of politicians, it may be the County. Ideally, the entire chain-of-command from the City, the County, to the State will still be functioning. Incidentally, I do not believe that there will be gasoline, and except for emergency units. I do not believe there will be electricity. When you try to picture what may be occurring during any such time, keep these two factors in mind. It takes years, to be able to develop a capacity to even entertain such a possibility.

Does this sound too rough to you? There is absolutely no reason that all this cannot transpire. In fact, this course (or slavery) always follows the cycle that we find now reaching its climax as the Administration prepares to leave us with an entirely fiat currency. Don't dread the conflict. Instead plan to stand up and honor God and the Constitution, knowing that the very highest form of patriotism is—simply expressed—resistance to tyranny! We shall have the ultimate victory!

Communism ("collectivism", "humanism") always knew that victory over our nation was impossible as long as there were forty-eight (now fifty—possibly not wisely) separate states, each with their guaranteed Republican form of government, and a very limited centralized Federal agency. Therefore, and even before the turn of the century, satanic forces were well on the road to changing our form of government into a collectivist society.

General Douglas MacArthur, whom most of us are taught to honor, expressed his fears in this fashion:

"Insidious forces, working from within, have already drastically altered the character of our free institutions. . . . What is our greatest internal menace? If I were permitted but one sentence of reply—but one phrase of warning—it would be: End invisible government based upon propaganda and restore truly representative government based on truth."

We now witness the tragic end results of what has long been happening. Senator William E. Jenner of Indiana also warned us very clearly.

"We have a well organized political action group in this country, determined to destroy our Constitution and establish a one-party state. This political action group has its own political support organizations, its own pressure groups, its own vested interests, its foothold within our Government and its own propaganda apparatus."

These men were right! Insidious forces have been altering our form of government, slowly, quietly, insidiously, depending upon the principle of the "inevitability of gradualism" to keep us in a stupor until all their evil ends were fully accomplished.

But do you know what? They cannot succeed, because Man was born to be Free,—and in the United States we have tasted Freedom and the instruments of our freedom, although now dishonored, nevertheless still exist, and we will turn to them again in our hour of need. There is nothing wrong with America that can not be cured overnight, if we simply erase every law put on the books since the turning of the century. Our Constitution "outmoded"? That is infamous, and patriots will rise to the occasion and restore Constitutional government; the separation of powers, the concept of States Rights, individual responsibility, and fiscal sanity. This is our government, not theirs, and we should be ashamed of having permitted it to be altered while we slept. Thank God we are finally arising.

There is a concept of feudalism which I should touch upon because I do believe it, too, is going to play a role in this coming period of history. I have suggested that as a centralized authority becomes a total dic-

tatorship, it will find it impossible to enforce its will—(I certainly hope so. When I pledge allegiance to the Republic, I mean exactly what I say.)—it will become increasingly oppressive. In the meantime, the looting, raping, sacking and burning will be continuing. Ideally, the City and the County will deal with this, but what will happen when a "liberal" State government works hand in hand with the Federal agency? Then, undoubtedly, you would have vigilantes. Let me say this loud and clear. I do not look for, nor desire, racial warfare. Yes, there will be enough of it, God knows, but not after all involved understand the guiding forces behind our racial animosities. We did live in peace for the better part of a hundred years, and a great many of every race imaginable improved their lot under the American way of life. Many of these will be fully on the side of "law and order" and I pray the leadership will be provided to defeat the plans of all the hidden manipulators who want racial warfare in our cities. Mobs, both black and white, can be manipulated. It is going to be up to our leaders—God-fearing and Constitution respecting leaders of all races—to do what is good for America, so that all will return to sanity.

Feudalism is a concept that is alien to the United States, but it will have a place in the concept which I have been developing. In other words, we do not all live in cities, and with the breakdown in communications (remember I anticipate that there will be no gasoline and possibly no electricity), in certain valleys and mountains, in various remote regions, men will come together for mutual protection, and they will form a protective society. It will be an infant "feudal state" not too unlike Germany during a good part of the last century. Each would protect its own; also each would sign "mutual defense pacts" with its neighboring "principalities." Logically, these would in due course, turn to the County for protection, but it could be that the County Seat might be in a metropolitan area and in the hands of those with an alien philosophy.

Can your mind envision all this happening? Mine can, and I can even derive an element of comfort, because through these steps, I do see a way back to Constitutional government. And remember, *the only alternative is to live under a dictatorial, collectivist, centralized authority* and this would honor neither God, nor your Constitution, and would indeed become abject slavery.

Oh yes, we would have some sort of money. I would respect a "Wooden Nickle" issued by a "City" or a "County" or a "State," if it would only circulate *debt free*. In other words, if it were truly simply a token representing a storehouse of value, and only intended to serve as a receipt and demand for goods and services, — I would gladly honor it. This, in due course, would be backed by the separate sovereign State, and would probably also be accepted in neighboring states, as they too, emerged to victory. Some will, some won't. There would be enormously significant overtones of the "survival of the fittest" during this period, which could be a matter of months; might well be a matter of years; and could conceivably last centuries.

I have no idea what will happen to me. I would pray that when God does call me home He will say, "Well done, good and faithful servant." What more could anyone ask for, than to have an opportunity to glorify God and to defend his loved ones and his country?

In summation, let me state the following: If we are not morally, spiritually, and physically sound, we are nothing! We have our guidelines in Jesus Christ and the Constitution. If we desert them we deserve all that will be happening.

If we truly do love God, and if we do truly "pledge our allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the Republic for which

it stands," we will gladly defend both, and will gladly give our lives, if necessary.

It would be well to be willing to make the determination: You may some day die under slavery, but you will never *live* under slavery. In God's good time we are probably here on earth for only a twinkling. Yet He obviously has use for us, if we honor Him and are willing to do His bidding.

Less than two hundred years ago He endowed our Christian Constitutional Forefathers with incredible insight and these men gave us a sacred document which should have guaranteed that we remain free. They did not let us down, nor did our Lord. We, each in our own little ways, permitted the inroads of humanism and socialism, centralization and collectivism, to erode our society. Now the road back is difficult, but not impossible, and He will show us the final victory.

PITTSBURGH HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION REPORTS ON GROWING INSURANCE SHORTAGE

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on February 1 of this year, the commission on human relations of my home city of Pittsburgh held a daylong hearing on the problems that Pittsburgh homeowners and businessmen were having in obtaining and retaining insurance protection for their property.

The hearing, at which 32 witnesses testified about cancellations, nonrenewals, and exorbitant rate increases for insurance coverage, was part of a thorough investigation of the property insurance situation in Pittsburgh.

The commission issued a preliminary report on its findings and recommendations for action on March 11. Among other things, the commission found that "the lack of availability of fire and extended coverage insurance for properties in central city areas is national in scope, affecting every major city."

The commission correctly concluded that—

The unavailability of fire and extended coverage insurance, among other things, destroys credit in predominantly Negro areas, reduces the salability and financing of housing, prevents loans on inventory, and causes loss of employment when a business relocates.

The commission strongly recommended Federal legislation to relieve this situation. They urged prompt enactment of a program like that embodied in H.R. 17003, the Urban Property Protection, Rehabilitation, and Reinsurance Act of 1968, now awaiting action by your Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 17003 proposes to sell Federal reinsurance against riot and civil commotion losses to insurers participating in statewide plans to make basic property insurance available to all homeowners and businessmen whose properties meet reasonable underwriting standards. Properties would be individually inspected under these plans, and could not be denied coverage unless specific physical deficiencies were identified.

For low-income property owners whose properties need repair in order to be insurable, H.R. 17003 extends the section 312 rehabilitation loan and section 115 rehabilitation grant programs to areas where inspections are being made pursuant to the statewide insurance plans.

The bill also provides for extensive participation by the insurance industry and the separate States in sharing insured losses due to riot and civil commotion.

The two problems that H.R. 17003 aims at correcting—the growing shortage of insurance protection in our inner city areas and the threat of catastrophic riot losses to the solvency of insurers—are extremely critical.

To demonstrate the situation in just one of our Nation's many cities, I insert the preliminary report of the Commission on Human Relations of the City of Pittsburgh at this point in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues as strong evidence of the need for H.R. 17003, the Urban Property Protection, Rehabilitation, and Reinsurance Act of 1968:

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH, IN RE: THE MATTER OF REAL PROPERTY INSURANCE COVERAGE IN THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH

HISTORY

On December 4, 1967, a telegram was received by the Executive Director of the Commission from the Presidents of the Homewood-Brushton Chamber of Commerce, Homewood-Brushton Citizens Renewal Council, and the Homewood-Brushton Community Improvement Association. The telegram stated: "We request an immediate investigation into arbitrary cancellations of insurance coverage on business establishments and churches in Homewood-Brushton. It is our contention that this action undermines the confidence of the community and imposes an unwarranted economic burden on individuals and groups within the neighborhood."

The same day, the Commission directed its staff to conduct the investigation called for but enlarged on the request contained in the telegram to include not only business establishments and churches, but homeowners, tenants, and also the Hill District and Manchester sections of Pittsburgh.

On February 1, 1968, a public hearing was held by the Commission on this question, at which testimony from 32 individuals was received. (The hearing transcript of 183 pages is hereby incorporated into this report by reference and made a part hereof.) In addition, the Commission staff interviewed numerous persons and collected considerable material.

FINDINGS OF FACT

1. The lack of availability of fire and extended coverage insurance for properties in central city areas is national in scope, affecting every major city.

2. In Pennsylvania, the State Insurance Commission began to address itself to this problem in 1965 by urging companies writing fire and extended coverage insurance in Pennsylvania to adopt a program designed to offset the decline in coverage in the urban areas of this State.

3. Effective March 1, 1965, the Middle Department Association of Fire Underwriters issued, under approval from the Pennsylvania Insurance Commission, a new plan called "Schedule No. 33 Sub-Standard Rating Plan." The plan was designed to enable an individual who was refused fire and extended coverage, to request a physical inspection of the property. If no unusual physical condi-

tions were found, a recommendation was to be made for the issuance of a policy at no additional premium.

4. During August of 1967, the State Insurance Commission urged the insurance companies to refrain from widespread cancellations of insurance in our cities, and issued directives to the companies relative to maintenance of detailed statistics on coverage in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

5. The "Schedule 33" plan has not been implemented to any significant degree in the Pittsburgh area, and is unknown to many persons in the insurance field operating in this area. The general public is completely unaware of the plan.

6. The State Insurance Commission and the Middle Department of Fire Underwriters were aware of the lack of implementation of the "Schedule 33" plan. On July 1, 1965, the executive manager of the Middle Department advised member companies that "... the Insurance Department of Pennsylvania continues to receive complaints of a lack of market. . . ." On September 7, 1965, the executive manager again advised that "The Insurance Department advises it has received an increase in the number of complaints. . . ." On May 23, 1966, the Insurance Commissioner advised the insurance companies that "property owners, as well as civic and municipal groups, have advised the Insurance Department that it is still difficult and sometimes impossible to obtain fire and extended coverage insurance on dwellings. . . ."

7. In the Pittsburgh areas of the Hill District, Manchester, and Homewood-Brushton, insurance companies have taken several approaches in declining to write fire and extended coverage insurance, as follows:

A. *Excessive Premiums*—Companies have refused to renew existing policies unless the insured would consent to the payment of a premium 3, and in some cases, 8 times the prior premium. One example out of many cited at the public hearing was a \$7,500 fire and extended coverage policy that was \$36.75 for three years and now costs \$209.09 for three years, in the Hill District.

B. *Refusal to Renew*—Companies have refused to renew, and the insured has had no source of continuing insurance.

C. *Refusal to write*—Companies have refused to write the policy in the first instance.

D. *Refusal to write in the same amount*—Upon the date of renewal of an existing policy, companies have declined to write the policy in the same amount, agreeing in some instances to only write a policy with one-third of the amount of protection of the prior policy.

8. The decline in insurance coverage has had no relationship to the physical condition of the properties involved, and examples were given at the hearing of properties reported to be in excellent condition, which had been insured for many years, and on which insurance is now not attainable.

9. Insureds have usually not been able to ascertain the reasons for being unable to procure insurance from the brokers, and companies have usually not given the agent or broker the reasons in writing.

10. The decline in fire and extended insurance coverage in the last three years in Negro areas of Pittsburgh has been due to the designation by insurance companies of these areas as high risk, or target areas for riots, notwithstanding that no riot has occurred in these areas.

11. The current condition is aggravated by the fact that insurance companies have always been more selective in writing risks in predominantly Negro areas of this city, years before the riots of the last few summers.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Commission has jurisdiction to inquire into this matter by reason of Pittsburgh Human Relations Ordinance No. 75 of 1967, Section 7(e) which empowers the Commission to study and investigate by means

of public hearings or otherwise any conditions having an adverse effect on intergroup relations in the City of Pittsburgh.

2. Fire and extended coverage insurance is either unavailable or available at excessive costs with resultant hardship to the insured, in the predominantly Negro areas of the City of Pittsburgh.

3. The unavailability of fire and extended coverage insurance is caused not by any adverse experience in this City or the condition of the property, but rather by an expectancy of what might occur.

4. The unavailability of fire and extended coverage insurance, among other things, destroys credit in predominantly Negro areas, reduces the salability and financing of housing, prevents loans on inventory, and causes loss of employment when a business relocates; all to the financial and social loss of those living in and working in predominantly Negro areas.

5. The effectiveness of programs designed to cope with the problems of Pittsburgh, such as "Model Cities," "leased housing," "turnkey," and others is threatened if property insurance is not available.

6. No existing program has prevented the disappearance of property insurance from the predominantly Negro areas of this City.

RECOMMENDATIONS

And now March 11, 1968, the Commission on Human Relations of the City of Pittsburgh, after investigation and public hearing on the question of the availability of real property insurance in predominantly Negro areas of this City, does hereby issue the following recommendations:

1. Federal Government assistance to resolution of the problem by (a) financial aid to assist homeowners and business owners in rehabilitating their property to bring it up to insurance standards. This aid could either be in the form of a cash grant or a low-interest loan. (b) a reinsurance type subsidy arrangement for the insurance companies who are willing to insure risks in every part of the United States, irrespective of the location of the property.

2. In Pennsylvania, legislation should be immediately enacted authorizing the State Insurance Commission to create a mandatory insurance pool (a) requiring participation by all insurers writing property insurance in Pennsylvania (b) requiring the insurers in the pool to write insurance on any insurable property located anywhere in the Commonwealth (c) setting forth an inspection procedure to determine the insurability of property (d) the State Insurance Commission developing a procedure for the assignment of the risks to pool members when the insured is unable to obtain insurance on his own.

3. As a temporary interim step pending the enactment of necessary legislation at the State level, all property insurers presently doing business in this City should establish a voluntary plan of providing property insurance to all sections of this City.

This proceeding will remain open pending implementation of the above recommendations.

ERIC W. SPRINGER,
Chairman.
DAVID B. WASHINGTON,
Executive Director.

OUR POLICEMEN

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial from the *Greeneville Sun*, *Greeneville, Tenn.*, on May 13, 1968, was dedi-

cated to that great body enforcing the law—our policemen.

I have often felt that the greatest danger in America today is the flagrant violation of law and order. Our policemen and law-enforcement officers are becoming more and more important to us day by day. Our policemen have a difficult job, one that is not envied by any person, yet they carry out their duties faithfully and in the face of many dangers.

This tribute is one they have long deserved, and I thought it should be called to the attention of the readers of the *RECORD*, as follows:

OUR POLICEMEN

In these troubled times citizens depend more than ever upon local police departments to maintain law and order in their communities.

Ironically, as his job becomes increasingly difficult, subjecting him to dangers and abuse not so common a few years back, criticism of our policemen is becoming an almost standard tactic among some, an almost automatic defense of violence by others.

Almost invariably, when policemen are ordered to disperse massed sitters, demonstrators or others—who are breaking the law—they are afterwards charged with brutality. Too many gullible, well-meaning people are swayed by such charges.

Inevitably upon occasion, there are examples in which law enforcement officers could have performed better. But policemen are not perfect. We are lucky they are as fair as they are—considering what most are paid. They are only humans doing their best in a very difficult job.

And if there are some incidents where very onerous and dangerous duties must be performed, this is—in the final analysis—the product and responsibility, of those who chose to break the law.

To expect everything in such situations to work perfectly, and every human to perform in a perfect manner, and to blame law enforcement officials when that doesn't happen, is unrealistic; in addition, chronic depreciation of our police departments undermines the very fabric of an orderly, democratic society, respect for the law.

SMALL BUSINESS WEEK, MAY
12-18, 1968

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, on May 1, 1968, Gov. James Rhodes proclaimed the week of May 12 to 18 as Small Business Week in Ohio. I take this opportunity to join with Governor Rhodes in urging all chambers of commerce, boards of trade and other public and private organizations to participate in ceremonies recognizing the great contribution made by small businesses to the progress of Ohio and the Nation.

The Governor's proclamation is as follows:

PROCLAMATION: SMALL BUSINESS WEEK,
MAY 12-18, 1968

Whereas, small and independently owned and operated business enterprises supply a large share of the needs and luxuries of the American people; and whereas, in Ohio's metropolitan, urban and rural areas small businesses provide a broad source of diversi-

fied employment opportunities, allow individuals new avenues for expression and growth of personal initiative and judgment, and introduce new ideas, methods and products which stimulate our economy; and

Whereas, the Development Department and the many public and private agencies participating in Ohio's Comprehensive Development Program recognize the vital role of the small business in the Ohio economy and the importance of their continued commercial, civil and industrial activity and leadership; and

Whereas, the establishment and expansion of many small businesses in Ohio contributed greatly to Ohio's record industrial expansion in 1967:

Now, therefore, I, James A. Rhodes, Governor of the State of Ohio, do hereby designate the week of May 12-18, 1968, as Small Business Week in Ohio and urge all Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, and other public and private organizations to participate in ceremonies recognizing the great contribution made by small businesses to the progress of Ohio.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused the Great Seal of the State of Ohio to be affixed at Columbus, this 1st day of May in the year of Our Lord, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty-Eight.

JAMES G. RHODES, Governor.

THE 28TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON ALCOHOL AND ALCOHOLISM

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the 28th International Congress on Alcohol and Alcoholism, a meeting expected to attract the largest attendance ever recorded for a scientific conference in the field of alcoholism, will be held in Washington, D.C., September 15 to 20, 1968.

Conferees at this important health convocation will come from all parts of the world.

Described by planners as the most comprehensive gathering of its kind ever held anywhere in the world, the Congress will be supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in addition to private contributions.

A function of the International Council on Alcohol and Alcoholism, Lausanne, Switzerland, this conference is held every 4 years in a different country. It comes to the United States for the first time since 1920.

Twenty-four organizations are serving as sponsoring and cooperating agencies. These include the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, American Medical Association, National Council on Alcoholism, North American Association of Alcoholism Programs, Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies, General Services Board of Alcoholics Anonymous, the Christopher D. Smithers Foundation, Society for the Study of Social Problems, the American Public Health Association, American Hospital Association, American Nurses' Association, Inc., American Psychiatric Association, American Psychological Associa-

tion, Canadian Psychiatric Association, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Institute for the Study of Drug Addiction, National Association of Social Workers, Inc., National Association of State Mental Health Program Directors, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, National Tuberculosis Association, North American Judges Association, the Al-Alon Family Group Headquarters, Inc., the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, the North Conway Institute.

Prominent scientists and others concerned with the prevention, treatment and research in the field of alcoholism will give papers relating to 17 topical areas.

The purposes of the congress are:

First. To present scientific findings in the field of alcohol problems.

Second. To foster closer relationships, improved communications, and other collaboration between the governmental and private groups interested in these medical-social-health problems.

Third. To encourage further research and professional activity in the field.

Fourth. To provide through the mechanism of published proceedings the state of knowledge in reference to biochemical, pharmacological, sociocultural, psychological and medical aspects of alcoholism.

Archer Tongue, director, International Council on Alcohol and Alcoholism has stated that he is pleased that the United States will be the site of the 28th congress because "there is worldwide interest in the research and treatment programs as well as the methods of public education of alcoholism which have been developed in recent years in the United States."

David J. Pittman, Ph. D., director, Social Science Institute, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., is general chairman. Selden D. Bacon, Ph. D., director, Center of Alcohol Studies, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., is program chairman. R. Brinkley Smithers, president, Christopher D. Smithers Foundation, is chairman of the patronage committee.

The official languages at the conference will be French and English, with simultaneous translations. Headquarters in Washington will be the Shoreham Hotel.

The central office of the North American Association of Alcoholism Programs will act as congress secretariat.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it appropriate that the U.S. Congress express its hope that the results of this important international conference are successful in helping to alleviate the serious problem which alcoholism poses to world health.

DANGERS OF CIGARETTE SMOKING

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, this Congress must ask itself what it intends to do about protecting our citizens. The dan-

gers of cigarette smoking are increasing, as Rodale's Health Bulletin pointed out on May 11, 1968:

According to the United States Public Health Service, emphysema . . . is reaching "potentially epidemic proportions." Approximately 17,000 Americans become new victims of the disease yearly. Causes of emphysema are not known, but cigarette smoking is believed to be the most significant factor involved and air pollution also plays a role.

My colleagues, we must not shirk our responsibility—we must act to protect the health of our citizens.

Mr. Speaker, it is to me appalling that this Congress can sit idly by while our Nation's health is seriously undermined. I am speaking of our inactivity in the face of the dangers from cigarette smoking. Recently I called to your attention the amazing amounts of money the cigarette industry spends on television advertising; today I point to another frightening statistic—of the top 20 advertisers for radio, three were cigarette manufacturers, who together spent \$13,751,000. All this money was spent to further the number of our citizens placed in jeopardy by cigarette smoking. I refuse to believe that this Congress will merely be an inactive participant in this crisis; rather, I am convinced that my colleagues will soon join the 57 Members of this House who have united behind H.R. 11717, a bill that will adequately warn our citizens of the hazards of smoking.

NEED FOR APPROVAL OF OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on April 4, the Newark, N.J., Star-Ledger described "a series of earth-shaking explosions" which occurred the day before in a Newark plant engaged in the refining of precious metals. This industrial accident took the life of one young man, a 33-year-old foreman who leaves a wife and three small children, and injured 13 others, including nine firemen.

What is more, the explosions released clouds of deadly chlorine gas which threatened the whole community. Police lines had to be set up to keep spectators out of the contaminated area.

It seems that a blower over a chemical tank had stopped for some reason and the foreman was trying to clear it at the time of the explosion. One must conclude from this account that the hazards presented by ventilation failure were not clearly understood or guarded against. If they had been, this tragic accident need not have occurred.

I believe this incident illustrates very clearly the necessity for Federal safety and health standards in such industrial plants, as called for by the proposed Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968.

Every day, 55 American workers lose their lives in on-the-job accidents, more than 8,500 are disabled, and 27,000 are

hurt. Furthermore, the chemical hazards associated with so many industrial processes today, pose a special problem of community danger, as in the Newark incident, and underline the urgent need for Federal action.

SUMMER CAMP SAFETY

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, as another summer approaches, millions of parents prepare to send their children to summer camps.

In many cases their children will be in good hands, with excellent supervision, good safety and sanitation standards, and proper equipment.

In some camps, however, there will be risks undertaken unknowingly by the parents and their children, because the camps are unregulated, poorly equipped, and without adequate personnel.

And in a tragic few cases, these defects will mean a child will not return alive from camp, or he will come back with serious injuries.

The sad fact is that we do not even know how many unsafe youth camps there are, or in what States, or even, in any detail, what risks our children face during their vacation.

We only know this:

Twenty States have absolutely no regulations for the safety of children in camps;

Forty States have no rules for camp staff qualifications;

Thirty-one States have overlooked provisions for sanitation and health facilities; and

Twenty-four States have no water safety and equipment regulations.

I introduce today a bill to require the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to study State and local laws and regulations to see how well they protect our children. The bill would require HEW to report, after 1 year, and in detail, on how adequate the present camp safety protection is and what recommendations the Department makes for insuring the safe operations of youth camps.

Mr. Speaker, this measure builds on an extended earlier attempt to protect our children in camp. The earlier bill, which I cosponsored, would have authorized Federal youth camp safety standards and a program for State adherence and inspection to enforce these standards. Grants would have been available to States to help meet and execute these standards in a statewide plan for youth camp safety.

This bill, introduced in both Houses of Congress last summer, has languished like last summer's rose.

When an agency report was finally received on the House bills this spring, the judgment of HEW was that such measures might be appropriate but, it added:

We do not now have sufficient information to judge the effect of these programs and in particular whether safety conditions in

youth summer camps are such as to require remedial federal legislation.

Accordingly, we think the first step should be to identify the nature and magnitude of such problems as may exist and to consider whether state and local regulations would be adequate to deal with them.

This bill, Mr. Speaker, will give HEW that opportunity it needs to find out how well present State and local laws are working to protect children in camps.

The only information parents now have on camp safety comes from understandable sanguine brochures, published by the camps themselves, or from short visits parents may make before they commit their children's lives to these camps.

This means most parents trust, with a blind hope, that everything will be done properly to safeguard their children. That is not enough.

I hope that early hearings on this bill will enable HEW to gather the information on youth camp safety which we all need badly.

HEMISFAIR 1968

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the current editions of Look and Newsweek magazines show that HemisFair is an excellent exposition and one in which we can all take pride. I am particularly pleased by the review accorded to the film being shown at the U.S. pavilion—a film that is as honest as it is bold, a film that shows that our true greatness is rooted in an ability to see ourselves as we really are, a film that recognizes that half the solution to a problem is to see it, honestly and forthrightly. I believe that my colleagues will be delighted by the comments of the Newsweek reviewer, and the Look article on HemisFair as a whole, and they follow:

[From Newsweek magazine, May 20, 1968]

AMERICA, AMERICA

When the Department of Commerce hired Francis Thompson and Alexander Hammid to make "U.S." the film now being shown at the United States Pavilion at HemisFair '68 in San Antonio, it had already settled on a perfect puff of a theme: "Confluence U.S.A." What did that mean? A flowing together of peoples, a joining of forces—everything, nothing. World's fair films aren't supposed to mean, they're supposed to be, like laughter or morning dew.

Thompson and Hammid had set the style themselves with their enormously popular "To Be Alive!" for the Johnson's Wax Pavilion at the 1964 New York World's Fair and "We Are Young!" for the Canadian-Pacific-Cominco exhibit at Expo '67: multiple screens, myriad smiles, children's games, waving wheat, athletes and other graceful animals in slow motion—and all of it very strong in the joy and warmth sectors. But the world had changed since 1964 and so had Thompson and Hammid. With the Commerce Department's full knowledge and assent they turned the theme of Confluence into a brave and memorable warning that the American people, having come together into the most prosperous civilization on earth, are in deep peril of losing it to their mindless machines and their own jolly, heedless rapacity.

Woodcuts: Conventionally unconventional in form—three screens in three apparently separate theaters that suddenly merge into one—23 minutes long, shot in the bold shorthand of modern documentaries, "U.S." is only revolutionary in the context of its content, but that is more than distinction enough. It begins with the nation's beginnings: virgin forests, pure waters, unseen tribes in an almost empty land. It squeezes all of colonial history into a couple of minutes, but not without surprises. Woodcuts show whites shooting Indians. "U.S." acknowledges that we wanted Indian lands, that part of our incredible growth was built on slavery.

An early biplane becomes the roar of a jet. Manhattan's towers fill the screen. We are plunged into the vibrant, crowded, polluted present. Omnivorous Caterpillars devour the land. The beaches teem with crowds celebrating themselves. The old, unskilled, unneeded, watch and wait. A Negro family moves into the hostile white turf of suburbia. Freeways are streaked with cars. Where are they all going? Where are we going? "We have pinned our hopes on our machines," says W.H. Auden's narration. But machines do not care, and care we must while we can.

"Exciting": When Lady Bird Johnson saw "U.S." she said it lacked "the element of hope." Former Ambassador Edward A. Clark, Commissioner of the United States Pavilion at HemisFair, said, "They had to pass up a thousand good things in America to find one of these bad things to show." He openly loathes the film and still threatens to have it removed from view. But "U.S." also has its powerful supporters. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall found it "exciting, mature." He was "especially pleased with the conservation message, the danger of Americans destroying their environment." William R. Sinkin, vice-chairman of the fair board, calls it a "great film that just sweeps down on you and says 'Look, America, look at what you're doing to yourself.'"

"U.S." does not end on a note of triumph or leave you singing and wanting to skip rope as you leave the theater. It reminds you of big bills coming due, of promises to be kept, and it was made by men who think they can be kept. (One of the three co-directors, Hugh O'Connor, was shot and killed while filming a sequence in a Kentucky strip-mining town, and "U.S." is dedicated to his memory.) When a film like this can be made for a fair and shown to Americans in their government's name, the element of hope survives.

—JOSEPH MORGENSTERN.

[From Look magazine, May 28, 1968]

SAN ANTONIO'S OWN WORLD'S FAIR

HemisFair '68, which opened April 6 in San Antonio, is a comfortable, walkable bite-sized world's fair, a quarter larger than Seattle's in 1962, and about a tenth the size of Expo 67 last summer. It doesn't pretend to be spectacular, and it doesn't establish styles in taste for the next 25 years. What it does offer is air-conditioned fun and knowledge in untiring doses, which can be absorbed in two or three days. As fairs go, it wasn't expensive—governments, industries and individuals invested \$200 million. It will start paying off for the city as soon as 7.2 million guests have passed through the gates and, at about \$4 apiece, have spent \$30 million. This is peanuts, San Antonians claim, against money-losing Montreal's draw of 50 million people in one year and New York's 51 million in two. What's there? Nineteen foreign and 15 industrial pavilions; about 100 price-controlled eating places; an impressive variety of diversions and rides that aren't exhaustingly apart from the "worthwhile" areas; the tallest observation tower in North America; a shaded canal stocked with bass; campy Victorian houses; a fountain visitors can operate; paintings from the Prado in Madrid. HemisFair is a splashy six-

month celebration of San Antonio's 250th birthday. It will astonish no one if the aftermath of the party is the business and cultural flowering of America's most gently beautiful old cities.

"This town was Sleepy Hollow," says a San Antonian. "In the '20's, we dropped from first-to-third-largest city in Texas, and all anybody did was roll over and go back to sleep." Another Texan explains that when General Santa Anna rode out of San Antonio in March, 1836, after his victory at the Alamo, he commanded: "Don't do anything until I get back." He went to San Jacinto, was defeated in battle and never returned. But his order nevertheless was strictly observed.

Suddenly, in the mid 1960's, everything changed. In a demonstration of unity that surprised even themselves, San Antonians voted bond issues to start HemisFair. In long-range terms, they were also voting to clear 92 acres of slums, skid row and houses of tattered gentility. The project—two blocks from the Alamo—is being financed mainly by the Federal and state governments, and the paying guests. After the show is over, it will all be turned over to the city, along with the profits. If there are losses, they will be made up privately, but no one expects that.

Whatever the result, the city will get a free legacy, which will include a \$15 million convention hall, arena and theater; a mile-long canal and a lake; a \$10 million Institute of Texan Cultures that aims to microfilm everything ever written about the state; a central downtown air-conditioning plant; the \$5.5 million Tower of the Americas (no one has lost money on a restaurant tower yet); a Tivoli-style pleasure park; a Mini-Monorail and a Sky Ride; acres of garage and exhibition space; and 23 restored Victorian houses that can be converted to restaurants, clubs or shops. New hotels and motels to accommodate upwards of 4,000 people have already gone up; so has the value of land bordering the fair grounds. So has employment (by 10,000) and so have tax collections. W. W. McAllister, Sr., the 79-year-old mayor, can barely contain his jubilation. The San Antonio economy, he predicts, will increase by \$40 million in five years, tourist business will double, and within ten years, the population of 730,000 will rise to a million. HemisFair, says James M. Gaines, its chief executive officer, "has mended the heart of a city."

It has done something else: For the first time, it has united in makeshift harmony the three wings of the Texas Democratic party, the two wings of the Republicans, all races (some call San Antonio American-occupied Mexico) and religions. Even Gov. John B. Connally, Jr., the ultraconservative commissioner general, and his political opposite, Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez—who conceived HemisFair—now have a common purpose. The whole city is in a jolly humor. "It's the biggest news here," says Vice President James Shand, "since 'Bet-A-Million' Gates first demonstrated barbed wire in Military Plaza back in the late 1800's."

NINA DEUTSCH AT CARNEGIE HALL

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Nina Deutsch at the piano is virtuosity personified and her brilliant performance in my district deserves recognition.

She will appear at Carnegie Hall on Thursday, September 26, 1968, in a program which includes: "First Sonata" by Ives, "Ondine" by Ravel, "Papillons" by Schumann, and "32 Variations in C

Minor" by Beethoven and will be presented by Norman J. Seaman.

Nina Deutsch, who performs under the personal direction of George Christianson, is a graduate of Julliard School of Music, has studied piano with Rosina Lhevinne, Sascha Gorodnitzki, and Dorothy Taubman, and chamber music with Artur Balsam and Claude Frank. Miss Deutsch, a native Texan, was recently soloist at Tanglewood in the performance of Oiseaux Exotiques by Olivier Messiaen. Last year she was featured in a series of concerts with the Philadelphia Composer's Forum. Miss Deutsch has given numerous recitals of both traditional and contemporary repertoire in New York, Dallas, Boston, Philadelphia, and Miami.

A BAD DAY FOR THE NAVY

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, in the finest traditions of crusading journalism, the press has played a vital role in bringing the case of Lt. Comdr. Marcus Arnheiter to the attention of the American public. Mr. Tom Pray, the world news editor of the Middletown Times Herald Record, Middletown, N.Y., first broke the story, and the editor of this fine paper, Mr. Al Romm, was instrumental in first bringing this case to my attention over a year ago.

Last night's edition of the Washington Star carried another fine commentary on the case in the form of a column written by James J. Kilpatrick. Under unanimous consent, I include Mr. Kilpatrick's article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

ARNHEITER'S "DAY" A BAD TIME FOR NAVY BRASS

Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter, the naval officer who was summarily dumped two years ago as commanding officer of a U.S. destroyer serving off Vietnam, finally got a kind of "day in court" on Capitol Hill last week. It was a bad time for the Navy brass. They were conspicuous by their absence.

The hearings, arranged by New York's Congressman Joe Resnick, were entirely one-sided hearings. All the witnesses were sympathetic both to Arnheiter and to Richard Alexander, the brilliant young naval captain whose career was destroyed when he publicly took Arnheiter's side. This was not Resnick's idea. He repeatedly invited high Navy officials to appear in defense of the Navy's position. No one turned up.

This stone-cold silence was understandable—from the Navy's point of view. The more one studies this distressing affair, the more one is driven to the conclusion that the Navy bungled the Arnheiter case from the very beginning. At half a dozen points along the line, something might have been salvaged by granting Arnheiter the one privilege he has been begging—a Court of Inquiry, or as an alternative, a full-dress court-martial. He was still begging for this last week; and the Navy was still deaf to his pleas.

For those who may have just come in, it should be said that the case arose in December 1965, when Arnheiter took command of the USS Vance at Pearl Harbor. It was his

first—and his last—command. Ninety-nine days later, after a slam-bang tour of duty off Vietnam, Arnheiter was summarily detached. He was given one weekend to prepare himself against a bewildering array of malicious charges, cooked up by rebellious junior officers. Then he was subjected to a one-man investigatory hearing, without benefit of witnesses in his own behalf. And professionally speaking, that was the end of Marc Arnheiter.

As last week's hearing made clear, every safeguard provided in the Navy's own regulations inexplicably was ignored. The Navy does not award wartime commands lightly, but neither are such commands lightly revoked. The rules provide explicitly that before so drastic a step is taken, an officer must be fully informed of all charges against him; he must be given counsel and advice toward the correction of his defects. The rules are specially designed, among other things, to protect a commanding officer from the very sort of wardroom conspiracy that was hatched against Arnheiter.

The evidence in this case indicates that Arnheiter inherited a sloppy ship manned by an undisciplined crew. He himself is a split-and-polish Dutchman, a Naval Academy graduate with an obsessive love of fighting naval traditions. He threw his entire energies into a crash program to revitalize his ship. Doubtless he made mistakes of judgment—mistakes of zeal—but his purpose was high and his methods were succeeding.

Then the ax fell. Since then his principal accusers have dropped out of the Navy. Arnheiter's strenuous efforts to clear his name have branded him a troublemaker; he is beached in San Francisco.

Captain Alexander, convinced that Arnheiter had been shabbily treated, came recklessly steaming to his rescue; Alexander too has been beached.

The top brass keep compounding their errors. One burly captain in the Bureau of Personnel has dropped the snide rumor that Columnist Drew Pearson has sided with Arnheiter because Mrs. Arnheiter is Pearson's niece. They are not related in any way. Another charge emanating from the top brass is that Arnheiter ordered the Vance's guns to fire on a "Buddhist pagoda." Evidence offered at Resnick's hearings totally disproves the charge. A third rumor is that Arnheiter had a "pitcher of martinis" aboard. Utterly false.

Perhaps the saddest testimony last week came from a 22-year-old Texas seaman, John M. Cicerich Jr., who served on the Vance after Arnheiter had been banished. Once Arnheiter left, he said, everything reverted to the old undisciplined patterns. Life on the ship once again was "like living in a prison with convicted toughs."

It is too late for Arnheiter, too late for Alexander. It is not too late, however, for the Navy to make certain that the next time a gung-ho skipper is victimized by junior officers, the skipper is accorded the consideration Marc Arnheiter never had.

MARINE SANCTUARIES STUDY ACT

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, pollution is one of the ugliest byproducts of an industrial society, and control of this menace is one of the most serious problems now being faced by government on all levels. Industrial wastes and byproducts pollute the air, our lakes, and our rivers and inland waterways, our coastal marshlands, and our offshore

ocean waters. This slow and cumulative poisoning of the natural environment is truly a pervasive problem, affecting all Americans.

Last month, two committees of the House conducted very important hearings on two serious aspects of the pollution problem. Just 2 weeks ago, the Public Works Committee held extensive hearings on the problem of oil pollution in our coastal waters. The source of this pollution is the watercraft, small and large, which ply our coastal seas by the hundreds of thousands every year. Small pleasure craft, fishing boats, barges, and giant oil tankers all play a role. The committee found that stricter standards, stiffer penalties, and faster cleanup machinery were urgently needed.

For a coastal community, exposed to the sea and the pollution it may bring, oil wastes from ships are a passing danger. Offshore oil production is an entirely different kind of danger, with its massive drilling platforms, its huge networks of underwater conduits, and its fleet of supporting vessels. An offshore drilling field presents a fixed and constant danger of large-scale, destructive pollution.

To study this problem, the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee held hearings last month on a program which was introduced by my colleague from Massachusetts, HASTINGS KEITH. His program is designed to give the Congress a foundation of knowledge and research on which a long-range plan of protection can be based. This bill, the Marine Sanctuaries Study Act, would provide a 2-year study period, during which government and private scientists can determine the likely effects of oil drilling in virgin ocean waters which are now used exclusively for fishing, recreation, and research and wildlife conservation purposes. This is an essential step, if we are to avoid a dangerous and unpredictable rush of oil developers into these fragile underwater environments.

I would like to bring to the attention of the House, Mr. Speaker, a recent article from the Brockton Enterprise, which recognizes the role that Congressman KEITH has played in this effort, and which dramatically points out the race with time that we are facing. Mr. Ed Lyons, in an editorial entitled "Cape Cod and the Fishing Industry in the Balance," says very accurately that those who would insure rational and balanced development of our ocean resources must match the strength and influence of the interests who simply want to make the fastest buck possible. With so much at stake, this is surely a context in which the public interest must prevail.

The text of the article is as follows:

[From the Brockton (Mass.) Enterprise, Apr. 20, 1968]

CAPE COD AND THE FISHING INDUSTRY IN THE BALANCE
(By Ed Lyons)

The fishing and conservation interests of New England have hooked up this week in Washington to do battle with one of the slickest industries in the business.

It's the start of a race that could eventually preserve or wipe out not only the rich fishing grounds of Georges Bank but the quaint streets and picturesque shoreline of Cape Cod.

The foe is a formidable one—the oil industry.

Oil companies have had geophysical experts studying the New England waters intensively for the past several years. Some of the experts have been quoted as saying oil is definitely beneath the ocean floor around the Georges Bank area.

This happens to be one of the richest fishing areas in the world with an estimated 12 per cent of the total world catch annually.

Quite naturally the prospect of oil drillings in the area has stirred the fishing industry. In September of 1966 there was a massive fish kill in the Georges Bank area due to a series of explosive charges for exploratory purposes.

The U.S. Geological Survey, which grants permits for these explorations, took steps soon afterward to prevent a recurrence of this tragedy. But the memory lingers on and the oil industry doesn't have the happiest of reputations in fishing ports.

There is also fear on Cape Cod that the oil drilling machinery someday may dot the once untouched shoreline. Then, there is the chance of oil seepage and eventual water pollution.

With the battle lines drawn, Rep. Hastings Keith of West Bridgewater has taken a direct hand in the matter and filed a bill which might lead to creation of certain "marine sanctuaries."

Hearings on the legislation opened last week before the House Oceanography Subcommittee with plenty of support.

Keith's bill would establish a two-year moratorium on any mineral explorations in areas believed to contain valuable ocean resources. The Interior Department would then spend \$1 million studying each of these areas to determine what permanent restrictions might be needed.

The bill, quite naturally, is opposed by the oil industry who want to get started with the drillings. Keith fears that if oil is discovered there is no stopping this powerful industry from taking those resources even though the Secretary of the Interior has the power to deny bidding rights on any part of the Continental Shelf.

Keith's stand is this: If an oil company receives the government's permission to search for oil in certain areas and then finds that oil is, in fact, present there, the company may feel it has a "right" to get a return on the money spent for exploration.

The administration, reports New England Review, is opposed to Keith's bill because they claim such studies can be made under existing marine development laws.

Keith maintains that there should be a specific mandate, written into law, which calls for a marine sanctuaries study.

With anything less, Keith is afraid that the fishing interests will be no match for the influential oil industry when it comes to swaying the opinions of federal officials.

But the whole thing is a race, says a New England Review story by Matthew V. Storin.

The oil companies could begin drilling off New England in about four years. It takes that long to clear the intricate federal bidding procedures. A full marine sanctuaries study, on the other hand, will take two years from the time Congress makes appropriations available.

Conservationists and the fishing industry now have a firm grip on the matter but it might just slip away to the giant oil industry.

Clearly, there must be a resolution on the problem.

Rep. Keith stands like a pioneer against the massive oil industry but he must prevail if Cape Cod is to remain Cape Cod and the fishing industry is to survive.

ISRAEL'S GLORIOUS BIRTHDAY

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of satisfaction, pride, and honor that I raise my voice today in this great Chamber in union with other distinguished colleagues to commemorate and celebrate the 20th birthday of the establishment of the brave, young sovereign State of Israel.

I well realize how deeply moved all persons of Jewish blood are as they pause to recall and celebrate the founding of Israel 20 years ago today.

For the Jewish world, spread as it is among all the nations, this was a fabulous, almost unbelievable event, the realization of a dream unfulfilled for centuries, but that now was to become a reality.

Through bitter suffering, privation, sacrifice, and persecution the Jewish people have never lost their faith and never ceased their struggles for nationhood. It was the ultimate achievement of the impossible dream that brought the State of Israel into being.

Driven from pillar to post, outcasts and refugees from many nations, discriminated against, harassed, persecuted, and denied every vestige of human rights, the gallant, enterprising Jewish people lived through one unspeakable tragedy after another.

The suffering visited upon them could not be described. The discrimination and persecution which they sustained had no counterpart in human history.

For centuries they were visited with cruel, ruthless bigotry, racial animosity, irrational jealousy and envy, theft, genocide, and confiscation of their property, the infliction of grossest indignities upon them. Yet, so great was their courage and determination to protect themselves and to set up lawful systems of government, where they could find freedom, shelter and escape from treachery, deceit, calumny and persecution, that in the end they reached their cherished goal of self-determination and liberty.

At that time the memories of the horrible events of the slaughter, wholesale death, and destruction imposed upon them by unspeakable Nazi tyranny were still fresh in the minds of a horrified world and seemed as a nightmare to the afflicted Jews, all their people and the peoples of the world.

Nothing could break the spirit of this great, historic Jewish people. They remained undaunted, infused with a remarkable courage that knew no defeat, an incredible determination which no enemy could shake and no task, objective, or sacrifice, however great, could dim.

It was against this background of unleashed fury and inhumanity that Israel was born.

I can well recall the glorious day and the message I forwarded to President

Truman thanking and hailing him for making the announcement, which I and other Members of the Congress had urged him to make, that our country be the first to recognize this brave, indomitable nation as it launched its existence as a sovereign state.

Mr. Speaker, that was 20 years ago at a time when the world was recuperating from the holocaust of World War II and the shocking experiences of Nazi madness that a great new state was born in the ancient land of Palestine.

The State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, but the birth of this brave state had complications—deep and serious ones which threatened to extinguish it almost as soon as it came into being and which indeed have plagued it intermittently throughout its short, eventful life.

Situated on a slender strip of land in the middle of the Negev Desert, surrounded on all sides by neighbors openly and militantly resentful of what they consider unwarranted intrusion, Israel could afford precious little time to celebrate its new independence on that fateful May 14, 1948.

On May 15 the day after David Ben-Gurion's proclamation of Israel's creation, the British garrisons withdrew from the country, and the neighboring states put Israel to its first test of strength by launching a series of attacks designed to exterminate their self-proclaimed Jewish enemies. Israel's chances of living even to its first birthday looked dim, indeed, at that time.

But what the enemies had not counted upon was the fierce determination and tenacity of a people who had already passed the ultimate test of survival under the Nazis. Having already endured the unendurable, the Jewish people viewed Israel as the last possible hope of finding a real homeland in the world.

Immigrants from Eastern and Western Europe, from the Middle East and Africa, from nearly every part of the world, having been tossed from country to country, losing family, possessions, and identity on the way, came to Israel and were united in their fight for its survival.

In 1949, after a series of cease-fire negotiations, implemented by the United Nations, four bilateral armistice agreements were signed, and all-out war came to a halt. Israel had won a respite and could turn to its task of creating a homeland out of the desert.

But the halting of all-out war and the establishment of peace are by no means synonymous, and the vast difference between the two have been all too apparent in Arab-Israeli relations. The U.N. Truce Supervisory Organization which began in 1949 to explore the possibilities for establishing a permanent peace has yet to find a solution to Middle East hostilities, the roots of which trace back thousands of years.

As peace probes continue, so too do border raids and sniper incidents which have flared into the major confrontations of 1956, the Suez crisis, and as late as 1967 with the so-called 9 days' war still so fresh in our minds.

It is extremely ironic, and I am certain that this view is shared by many others, that a nation which in 20 short years has turned itself from an overcrowded, desert, refugee camp into the prosperous, industrious and forward-thinking democracy that is Israel today, should still be fighting for its right to exist.

With Israeli dedication and ingenuity, the arid sands of the Negev now feed a growing population of 2.7 million. This is land that was once considered a total waste, not worth anyone's effort to develop it.

With Israeli technological and manufacturing capability, the country now has a gross national product and industrial production rate comparable to those of the advanced economies of Europe.

And with Israeli determination and wisdom gleaned from its people's centuries of hardship, its Parliament, the Knesset, is a dynamic example of democracy, serving as a free and stable government and protecting the rights of all its citizens and all others within its boundaries.

Not content to turn all its resources inward, Israel is beginning to make significant contributions to other developing nations in manpower and technical assistance and economic cooperation. Dozens of countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America now host Israeli instructors, advisers, and survey missions who are there by invitation to assist in the problems confronting newly emergent and economically depressed countries—problems in which Israel has developed impressive expertise.

Unquestionably, generous, whole-hearted U.S. financial support has been of invaluable aid to Israel, particularly during its early, financially precarious years. But Israel has, in turn, provided the United States and the world with an unceasing source of inspiration and hope for the ability of mankind to overcome the most overwhelming challenges, calling for seemingly superhuman strength and spirit.

In this dedicated, inspired struggle for human freedom and justice unexcelled in world history the Jewish people of the United States and other nations have played a truly heroic role by most generous, massive, personal aid and encouragement that constitute one of the finest and noblest examples of group loyalty and unflinching, humane support ever known on this planet. This unselfish assistance was a great morale builder and an effective, material factor, in the saga of Israeli success. It is a story always to be gratefully and proudly recalled by all who cherish personal liberty and freedom.

Israel has proven herself an admirable and responsible member of the international community, and there is no doubt that she deserves to enjoy the blessings of freedom and a permanent and lasting peace. It is the responsibility of every one of us to take whatever steps we can to promote such a peace and to assure a safe, free, secure place in the world for the great State of Israel and its loyal people.

There is no doubt that the conditions

in the Mediterranean and the Middle East are cause for very serious concern.

The political conditions, national rivalries and developing animosities have created considerable instability in the area.

Moreover, the penetration and stepped-up activity in the area by the Soviet, the furnishing of military strength to some of the nations, the revival of aggressive nationalistic, hostile conditions and spirit in the area are disquieting.

Our great Nation has been committed from the start to support and help Israel and we will continue in every respect it is necessary to keep this commitment.

It must be understood by all other nations in diplomatic circles that it will be our policy and purpose to support, strengthen and help defend Israel and its people, so that they may have the opportunity they seek of working for a viable peace, pacification, good relations with other nations and the expansion and growth of their own country, so it will be better equipped to protect itself in a dangerous area, sustain its people, provide them with better resources and advantages to carry out the work of free government, expand the areas of opportunity, build up her standards, promote abundance and the wherewithal to carry out selected goals of peace and progress and development to which Israel is pledged in her national aims.

Those of us who are familiar with the military and defense posture of the Middle East well understand the threats to free nations in the area. For these reasons, we must be prepared to maintain our firm friendship with Israel and do everything that has to be done by way of strengthening her position to ward off selfish, territorial and ideological aggressions, and to defend herself against those who might decide to interfere with her free government and her democratic processes, not to speak of her unity and territorial integrity.

This Nation wants to assist Israel and wants to encourage peace and develop friendships helpful in sustaining her ability to maintain herself in an area where aggression is possible and the need for adequate defense on the ground and in the air and on the sea is so very urgent.

I am happy to state that I propose to continue my own strong support and encouragement of Israel in every respect. Israel and the Jewish people are our cherished friends. We will stand with them and for them for peace and freedom.

HUNGER IN AMERICA

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, during the past week, attention was sharply focused on the ugly picture of hunger and starvation in the United States. A citizens board of inquiry, headed by Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto-

mobile Workers Union, made public a report, which graphically describes the shocking plight of 10 million Americans who are permanently impaired by malnutrition.

At the same time, another report was published disclosing that two out of three children do not participate in the national school lunch program. This report was the product of joint efforts of Church Women United, National Board of the YWCA, National Council of Jewish Women, and the National Council of Negro Women. This report paints an incredible picture showing that in our affluent society, millions of children exist today on grossly deficient diets and that many are permanently consigned to poverty and dependence by resulting physical and mental retardation.

The total result can best be described by Michael Harrington's phrase, in his "The Other America": "Millions cling to hunger as a defense against starvation."

School lunch, school milk, food stamps, emergency food, and medical aid programs are designed to carry out a national commitment to banish hunger from our midst. Yet hunger and malnutrition take their annual toll in terms of maternal and infant deaths, organic brain damage, retardation, and increased vulnerability to disease.

Poverty stricken areas across the Nation report that schoolchildren particularly in the elementary grades, suffer such severe hunger pains that they must either send the children home or to the school nurse. Public hospitals report disturbing patterns of malnutrition among infants and expectant mothers. Many among the 4 million aged poor suffer the pain of constant hunger and resultant debilitating disease.

I have joined in a bipartisan Congressional Coalition to Help Malnourished Americans, to press urgently on every front available to us to alleviate this problem immediately and eliminate it quickly. As an immediate step we have prepared and introduced legislation to establish a Presidential Commission comparable in size, mission, and urgency to the Commission on Civil Disorders. The Commission would be mandated to complete its studies on an emergency basis and report its recommendations to the Nation on January 1, 1969.

It is clear from available information that many State and local governments are not carrying an appropriate share of the load to make existing Federal programs work. On the other hand, it is also clear that some of the Federal programs are so entwined in redtape that they fall far short of their goals. These factors largely account for the fact that less than one-third of poor children who are in school benefit from the school lunch program and that food distribution and stamp programs reach less than one-fifth of the poor.

In view of the established facts, it is no longer sufficient for concerned Americans to adjust to their pangs of conscience by expressing frustration and indignation. Hungry Americans in the midst of plenty presents a cruel paradox that demands highest priority attention and action.

VANISHING VIETNAMESE

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to submit for the reading of my colleagues an editorial from today's New York Times. The piece which follows points to one of the very real and difficult aspects which must be contended with during the talks at this point.

The editorial follows:

VANISHING VIETNAMESE

The central issue posed by the opening round of the Paris peace conference is whether Hanoi means what it says when it says it favors an "independent South Vietnam" pending ultimate reunification. Neither a settlement nor even the initiation of meaningful negotiations is possible without accord on this point, which assumes that North Vietnamese as well as American troops will be withdrawn from the South.

So far, Hanoi insists upon American withdrawal but refuses to acknowledge that there are any North Vietnamese troops fighting in the South. At the same time, North Vietnam proclaims that it has the right to aid the Vietcong's fight against the Saigon Government and the "American aggressors." Hanoi insists that "Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one," in denying charges of aggression by the North against the South.

What does this signify? Hanoi refused to acknowledge the presence of North Vietnamese troops in Laos during the 1961-62 negotiations to neutralize that country. The United States finally agreed to a formula for the evacuation of "foreign" troops, which clearly included the North Vietnamese. But while American troops departed, the North Vietnamese remained. They avoid violation of the 1962 agreement simply by denying that they are—or ever have been—there.

This vanishing—or non-vanishing—act becomes even more disingenuous in Hanoi's proposal for withdrawal of "foreign" troops from South Vietnam, since Hanoi denies that North Vietnamese in the South could be considered foreigners. That Hanoi's persistence in this posture would thwart a settlement is evident. Even more important at the moment it could impede the opening of serious negotiations for many weeks.

Hanoi says it will not negotiate until all the bombing of North Vietnam stops. The United States insists on "a sign" that American de-escalation has been "matched by restraint on the other side," particularly in the area of the Demilitarized Zone.

For the United States, Hanoi's admission of responsibility for its military operations in the South is at least as important as restraint in those operations. Otherwise, there can be no discussion of a ceasefire or the "pulling apart" of contending forces in the DMZ, as suggested by Ambassador Harriman, a step that later might be applied elsewhere in the country. Neither the withdrawal of North Vietnamese divisions nor control measures to prevent their return can be negotiated while Hanoi denies it has any divisions in the South.

What the United States must face, however, is that it is proposing a symmetrical restraint. Leaving its own hands free in the South, the United States is demanding—for a cessation of bombing in the North—limitations on Hanoi's operations in the South that the bombing never could impose.

A procedural proposal to discuss a freeze of all external forces in South Vietnam at present levels after bombing of North Vietnam is halted would be the best way to test Hanoi's willingness to admit its presence

and take reciprocal measures of restraint in South Vietnam.

SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, last Friday this House passed H.R. 16911—special drawing rights—by a vote of 236 to 15. I joined the majority in giving approval to this bill so that the original rules of operation of the Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 could be changed to allow for the issuance of a new international monetary asset to supplement gold and the regular reserve currencies.

In reviewing the reasons for any affirmative vote last Friday, I came to an inescapable conclusion; namely, that I had no real alternative to supporting the bill. Why? Was the need to expand our international monetary reserves so urgent that we had to vote to suspend the regular rules of procedure in introducing legislation and then to allow only 2 hours of debate on this legislative proposal? Was the need to solve our international payments deficit so urgent that we had to rush headlong into an affirmative vote on H.R. 16911? Has the outflow of our gold due to the latest attack on the pound and the dollar become so disastrous that we had to resort in all haste to the creation of "paper gold"?

These were all factors that influenced our thinking. The time limit on debate also prohibited most of us from discussing the pros and cons or even stating our own position.

At best this subject of special drawing rights is so intricate that one would have to look deep underneath the economic philosophy for creating a new monetary asset out of nothing to understand the reasons for creating it all. I voted to give our congressional approval so as to give our Director on the International Monetary Fund Board the legal support to go ahead and demonstrate our willingness to set the whole procedure in motion. Our subscription to the IMF amounts to 21.8 percent of the total subscribed by all nations, but it requires 85-percent approval from the 107 subscribing signatories to the IMF before the Directors of the Fund can issue the first series of special drawing rights.

This whole question of SDRs—as they are commonly called—has been under discussion long before our own international balance-of-payments deficit became so acute and we had to disgorge such large quantities of gold to redeem our dollars. Since the end of World War II, with the ever-increasing world population, there came a concomitant increase in world economic activity. As the number of independent nations increased, so did the amount of international financial transactions. International trade has more than tripled since 1945 and the question of world liquidity in terms of gold and reserve currencies has become one of paramount impor-

tance. As we all know, the dollar is the world's foremost reserve currency, but instead of keeping dollars, the tendency in many nations has been to change these into gold. And there is not enough gold in the world to redeem all our dollars currently held by other nations as part of their reserves.

Thus, it was that over 5 years ago our Treasury officials asked the International Monetary Fund to initiate a study of methods for increasing the world's monetary reserves—that is in addition to gold and dollar reserves. First, the finance ministers of the ten major industrial nations issued a report on the creation of monetary assets; then our own congressional Joint Economic Committee studied the question in detail and stated that the problem was getting urgent in view of our own international deficits. In other words, our own international position was being stretched too thinly. Something more than gold and dollar reserves was needed as a supplement to international currencies.

The plan that evolved concerned the issuance of special drawing rights according to the subscription totals of IMF members. Periodically, the Board of Governors of the IMF would issue these special drawing rights which would be taken in lieu of gold or dollars or other reserve currencies. Stated in terms of the gold content of a dollar, they would be equal to dollars or gold. They would supplement each nation's original subscription to the Fund and thereby create automatically an expanded source of credits for international payments. This increased monetary liquidity on a worldwide basis would therefore help to obviate the request for gold from us.

Subject to Senate approval of our action, the United States will be the first nation to give approval to the new scheme and thus set in motion the expected approval by other IMF members.

As I said before, the IMF Board of Governors has recommended this action. The 10 foremost industrial nations have expressed approval. Our Joint Economic Committee has given its support. Our House Committee on Banking and Currency has unanimously reported this bill. Our House Ways and Means Committee pushed the bill to the head of its agenda. Now the House has approved it overwhelmingly. Perforce I had to vote for it. My own hope is that our own efforts to reduce our international deficits will be so successful that we will have little need for these special drawing rights. I supported the vote to initiate action and am confident that future results will prove beneficial to our international transactions.

MRS. DORIS M. WEBBER, NEW JERSEY LEGAL SECRETARY OF THE YEAR

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, over the years I have known few people as dedi-

cated and affable as Mrs. Doris M. Webber, of Westville, N.J., recently named the New Jersey Legal Secretary of the Year.

I have watched Mrs. Webber grow up, having known her since high school, and her story is one of hard work, determination, integrity, and success. In addition to her many other accomplishments, she holds a law degree from Rutgers University where she attended night school for 6 years.

Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to take this opportunity to commend Mrs. Webber, for whom I have the greatest respect and have always known to be a fine Christian lady and an outstanding citizen in all walks of civic endeavor. She is an asset to her community and I am pleased to know her as a friend.

GUNS—THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH CRIME

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago, I addressed a weekly column to newspapers in my district to the grave problem of gun control legislation. I was pleased to receive the following statement from Thomas F. McDermott, president, Police Chiefs Association of Southeastern Pennsylvania:

GUNS—THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH CRIME
(By Thomas F. McDermott)

To the wavering mind opportunity for successful crime keenly prompts a temptation to the unlawful act. Money or valuables exposed and unwatched or carelessly displayed may, on many occasions, turn an honest person into a thief. The fast automobile and the ready or easily obtained revolvers are in themselves opportunities. These two held in unauthorized possession stimulate in the mutinous imagination possible ventures of unlawful success.

Without the gun most of the great and small of the more daring robberies would never be attempted. Does anyone think the Brink robberies would have been attempted without guns; can anyone visualize the holdups committed on armored cars, banks, payrolls, and even the small storekeeper without the revolver or shotgun being used.

Millions of instruments, the sole purpose of which was to kill human beings, were manufactured and distributed (scattered would be a better word) throughout the United States last year. The same thing happened the year before and the year before that.

The chief beneficiaries are the unscrupulous mail-order dealers who sell to anyone who has the money, and even to those who do not have the full price. The prospective purchaser can send a down payment, receive his gun—then commit a holdup, and then forward the balance owed.

Believe me, it is just as simple as that; of course, the applicant or purchaser must send a signed statement to the effect that he is twenty-one or over, not an alien, never been convicted of a crime, not under indictment, not a fugitive, or a drug addict. Laughable—isn't it? to even believe that anyone whether he be a convicted felon, drug addict, insane or partly sane, would so state on his request to purchase, when everyone knows there is no check made on the purchaser by the distributor.

Many companies advertise for sale every kind of a gun and rifle available from a U.S. 30-06 Springfield and Garand 30-06 automatic rifle; Fleetwood pump shotgun, down to a .22-calibre six shooter magnum for \$1.00 down and the balance in twenty-two weeks. All you need is the names of two companies you have had credit with. Surely a convicted thief or drug addict is never going to advise someone from whom he is buying on credit that he is a felon or an addict. All that is needed is to send \$1.00, lie like hell, and receive your gun.

My personal opinion is that the dealers handling business of this kind care little whether the guns fall into the hands of criminals or not. The dealers cannot be so naive that they believe the tremendous amount of guns they ship all go into legitimate channels and not into the hands of those who should never possess a gun.

According to crime statistics six of every nine persons slain in the United States last year died from a bullet. These people might still be walking the streets if it were not for these makers and dealers. How many other unfortunates will fall maimed and crippled before something is done to put a stop to this practice.

The methods employed by the gun interests to defeat legislation is crafty. Whenever further regulation of firearms is suggested, usually following on a series of atrocious crimes, there is an equally emotional rebuttal from sportsman and patriots who like to quote the Bill of Rights. And when this is done as loudly as it is done by all the gun clubs it has a tendency to cause the lawmakers to become afflicted with severe cases of foot-dragging. These same defenders of liberty argue that the reputable householder has a right to protect his home and business. Much care these objectors have for the reputable citizens. A great many persons are injured every year in private homes by "I didn't know it was loaded" accidents. In cases of holdups and burglaries, "Who has the advantage, the armed citizen or the felon?" The felon of course! The storekeeper cannot keep his gun in his hand or treat every customer as a suspect. In the experience of the writer it is better for the citizen not to run if a firearm is ever pointed at him close range, be he in his place of business or his home, and most of all not reach for, or try to get a firearm to protect himself. His best chance is to stand still, and under no circumstances start to run—if he should do so the age-old instinct of the hunter will press the trigger. The revolver is, in itself, an urge to kill.

One thing I think should be clarified and seems to have been forgotten whenever the subject of gun regulation arises. From my experience covering over thirty years in law enforcement, local gun dealers were always and still are cooperative with the police department, and it was a rare occasion if ever, that a legitimate dealer in Philadelphia violated our gun regulation laws. So it should be pointed out that the lethal weapons that fall into the hands of irresponsible, unstable youngsters and convicted criminals, drug addicts, etc. are not to be charged to our legitimate dealers but to those unscrupulous mail order dealers who sold over two million firearms last year, giving America the distinction of being the most gun-wielding nation on earth for illegal purposes.

SHIPLEY FAMILY HONORED BY MARYLAND SENATE

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the

RECORD, I include the following Maryland Senate Resolution 79, adopted by the Maryland Senate on March 7, 1968:

SENATE RESOLUTION 79

(By Senator Steffey)

Senate resolution congratulating the Shipley family upon its 300th anniversary

Whereas, Adam Shipley settled near the present site of Millersville in Anne Arundel County in 1668; and

Whereas, his progenies have been distinguished attorneys, teachers, physicians, journalists, clergymen, bankers, statesmen, sportsmen and businessmen in Maryland; and

Whereas, in 1925 an organization named The Shipleys of Maryland was formed which consists of descendants of Adam Shipley and presently there are 500 members of the organization; and

Whereas, in celebration of the 300th anniversary of Adam Shipley's settlement in Maryland a three day reunion will be held on May 24th through 26th, 1968 during which a marker will be dedicated at the site of Adam Shipley's homestead in Anne Arundel County; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of Maryland, that congratulations be extended the Shipley family upon its 300th anniversary, and be it further

Resolved, that copies of this Resolution be sent Dr. E. Roderick Shipley of Linthicum Heights, President of the Shipleys of Maryland and Mrs. Henry R. Granger, of Baltimore, Chairman of the Tercentenary Committee.

By the Senate, March 7, 1968.

J. WATERS PARRISH,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON'S INSURANCE PROBLEMS POINT OUT NEED FOR FEDERAL RIOT REINSURANCE LEGISLATION

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in today's edition of the Washington Post, staff writer Carl Bernstein reported that insurance policies of at least 100 firms doing business in the District's riot-affected areas have been canceled since last month's disorders.

Mr. Bernstein notes that aides to Albert F. Jordan, the city's Superintendent of Insurance, estimate the number of such cancellations to be more than 200.

The Post article also reports refusal by insurance companies to renew expiring policies and to write new business in the riot-affected areas of the city.

The situation in Washington is identical to that in hundreds of other cities across the Nation. Increasing numbers of homeowners and businessmen either cannot obtain, cannot afford, or cannot hold on to insurance protection for their property.

Cancellations, nonrenewals, and tremendous rate increases on insurance are causing great emotional and economic hardship in our inner city areas, for insurance is essential to both the security of people's investment in their property and the credit they need to improve their homes or expand their businesses.

The insurance companies who cancel, refuse to renew, and greatly increase

their rates are not entirely to blame for this situation. The threat of riot losses beyond their financial capacities has forced the companies to limit their coverage in areas they consider riot prone or which have already suffered riot damage. Policyholders and stockholders must have some assurance that their claims will be paid and their investments protected, and the companies have no way of predicting what riot losses might be if they overextend themselves.

Mr. Bernstein quotes Superintendent Jordan as saying that District insurers and property owners alike "are in for very big trouble" unless Congress acts quickly on the riot reinsurance legislation now before it. Cancellations will increase with each day of delay.

The Subcommittee on Housing of your Banking and Currency Committee has reported this legislation by a 12-to-1 vote. H.R. 17003, the Urban Property Protection, Rehabilitation, and Reinsurance Act of 1968, would meet the problems described above by providing for the sale of Federal riot reinsurance to insurers participating in statewide plans to make basic property insurance available to all homeowners and businessmen with insurable property.

The Senate Banking and Currency Committee today reported out an omnibus housing bill including riot reinsurance provisions similar to those in H.R. 17003. The bill is expected to pass soon.

I urge my colleagues to give their support to efforts to secure quick action on H.R. 17003. As an indication of the gravity of the problems the bill seeks to remedy, I insert Mr. Bernstein's article from the Washington Post at this point in the RECORD:

FIRMS IN RIOT AREA LOSING INSURANCE
(By Carl Bernstein)

The insurance policies of at least 100 firms doing business in riot-affected areas of the city have been canceled, the District superintendent of insurance said yesterday.

The superintendent, Albert F. Jordan, said that his office is receiving "five to ten complaints of cancellations a day," and that "more than 100" cancellations have been verified.

Aides in Jordan's office estimated that the actual number of cancellations—many reports are still being checked—probably exceeds 200.

Jordan, who described the number of insurance cancellations here as "very serious," said that "we are in for very big trouble" unless Congress moves quickly to establish a National Insurance Development Corp., to aid underwriters suffering losses from rioting.

Mayor Walter K. Washington's appeal to insurance companies to refrain from either canceling or refusing to renew policies in the ghetto, Jordan said, "has been something less than successful."

Also, the Superintendent said, the Mayor's effort to convince underwriting firms that they should voluntarily pool their resources against future losses in slum areas has been "hampered by delays."

The Mayor's pooling plan, which he presented to insurance companies April 29 as a stopgap measure to protect ghetto firms until Congress acts on the National Insurance Development Corp. proposal, will be the subject of a meeting today between Jordan and industry representatives.

According to Jordan, no firms in riot-affected areas reported insurance cancellations "in the first few days" after April's civil dis-

turbances here. "Then we started getting a few," he said, "and now we're getting more and more. The problem is getting worse, obviously."

Jordan said the number of cancellations is "compounded" by an undetermined number of refusals to renew policies in slum areas, "as well as the fact that no other company will pick up insurance on a man who has been canceled because of the riot."

Jordan, who said the "more than 100 cancellations" verified by his office have been attributed to eight insurance companies, commented that "the great majority" of underwriting firms "are trying to cooperate with us the best they can."

Members of Jordan's staff said they are checking reports that about ten other companies have canceled policies. More than 270 insurance firms are licensed to do business in the District.

Jordan said that "no company has engaged in wholesale cancellations of their policies in ghetto areas," but added "no company wants to write new policies in the riot areas either."

Jordan identified the eight companies known by his office to have canceled policies as the Aetna Casualty & Surety Co. of Hartford; the Hartford Mutual Co. of Blair, Md.; the Home Insurance Co. of New York; the Phoenix Assurance Co. of New York; the Zurich Insurance Co. of Chicago; the Northwestern National Insurance Co. of Milwaukee; the Grain Dealers Mutual Insurance Co. of Indiana, and the Firemen's Insurance Co. of Washington, D.C.

Most of the stores where insurance was canceled were small retail establishments, with liquor stores the hardest hit, according to Jordan. He did not list specific businesses.

Jack Veatch, president of the District Association of Insurance Agents, said yesterday that he is "not surprised" by the number of cancellations. He said the industry is "trying to be as fair as possible." Like Jordan, Veatch called for national legislation to provide a reinsurance pool for ghetto businesses.

Herbert M. Pasewalk, vice president of the Firemen's firm here, said that his firm is "trying to cooperate" with Mayor Washington's request but that "we've got to live, too." He said Firemen's has canceled most of its policies in which stores were damaged or looted during rioting, but said the firm "will not engage in wholesale cancellations in the ghetto." Representatives of the other seven companies could not be reached for comment yesterday.

In a related development yesterday, a local drycleaning firm filed suit in U.S. District Court against an insurance company it says will not pay off claims because Washington's disturbances constituted a "civil insurrection."

The suit, for \$500,000 in damages, was filed by Aristo Cleaners and Dyers, Inc., against Royal Exchange Assurance of America, Inc. Aristo claims that the April disturbances were not an insurrection but a "riot" and thus the firm's losses should be covered by its policy with Royal Exchange.

NORTHWEST TIMBER AND A DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PLAYGROUND

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, last week, Mrs. Lyndon Johnson dedicated the Buchanan School Plaza in the District of Columbia. The new plaza transformed an area of bro-

ken concrete and weeds into a delightful playground for children and adults of the community. One of the special features of the plaza is that it will be a round-the-clock community facility that can be used for sports, theater, dancing, music, and even water activities. Of special interest to me is that the climbing posts—so challenging to small children—are made of Douglas-fir timber from the woods of the Pacific Northwest.

I am pleased that such a beautiful and useful natural resource of my part of the country will serve such an important function here in the Nation's Capital.

For the benefit of all Members who are interested in recreation and community development, with permission, I insert in the RECORD the remarks delivered by Mrs. Johnson at the dedication ceremony:

REMARKS OF MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON AT THE DEDICATION OF THE BUCHANAN SCHOOL PLAZA, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Astor, Mayor Washington, children, and many friends, thank you for inviting me here today to share a moment very important to this school, to this neighborhood, and to the whole city of Washington.

What an exciting place this is! I have been coming by here ever so many times in the past months, watching Buchanan Plaza grow and take shape, but not until today could I have imagined the full transformation that has taken place.

I remember so well a couple of years ago when a very outstanding and perceptive citizen of this city—he was housing commissioner at that time, but you all know his name, Walter Washington—took me by this building. The building itself was good in design, but it was surrounded by a sad area of broken concrete and weeds.

He took someone else there, too, a lady who is an outstanding friend of children—Mrs. Vincent Astor—and she decided right then that Buchanan School should become a place of variety and delight—a place where children could play and invent games; and adults share and enjoy—a playground for all ages.

Mrs. Astor not only gave the very generous sum of money to create the Plaza, but she tried to put herself in your place—what would a child at Buchanan enjoy? She was a wise and skilled adviser in every phase of the Plaza's development. She selected designers of talent and imagination who could invent a world of high adventure and challenge—child-size.

Many people had a hand in making Buchanan a very special place. One of our Congresswomen—Julia Hansen—tells me how proud she is that your climbing posts are made from Douglas Fir timber from the woods of the great northwest.

There is lots and lots of soft sand—two feet of it, I believe—underfoot, and daring young climbers will find that they can travel up high around the entire play area without touching the ground.

No fences are needed, because the basketball court is sunken—here—below ground level. And this is not only a basketball court. By its very shape and facilities, it can be used for theater, dancing, for music, for water play, for producing your own programs.

For while Buchanan Plaza belongs first and foremost to this school, it also belongs to everyone in the neighborhood. It is a place where all ages can come together, and find when they get there that there is lots to do.

Since our Committee for a More Beautiful Capital was formed a little over three years ago, we have devoted particular attention to improving the physical surroundings of public schools in the city. We have done so to

make the school a place of pride in the neighborhood. We have done so out of the belief that children will respond affirmatively to improvements they can see, and touch, and take part in.

Most of all, we have done so to demonstrate the practicality of excellence in school and recreation facilities. Who can put a price tag on boredom? Who can add up the cost of unchallenged energies?

A long time ago, I married a school teacher. And one of the many things that he has taught me is that children grow best with the best facilities and the best instruction.

Buchanan Plaza is the wave of the future. School yards must not be locked at 3:00 p.m. They must not have forbidding fences that shut the community out and shut the children in. Outdoor time is learning time, just as much as the hours spent in the classroom. Play facilities must offer wide variety, and lots of challenges, so that young people stretch and grow—emotionally, as well as physically. They must be attuned to the tempo of our times—and how fortunate we are to have the people who see this need and are filling it.

This kind of round-the-clock community playground is a new and constructive answer to the urban problem.

And so, to you and children like you who will come here after you, we dedicate Buchanan School Plaza to your growth and happiness.

THE UN-AMERICANS

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Un-American Activities recently made headlines—a consummation which it has never been reluctant to achieve—by issuing a report entitled "Guerrilla Warfare Advocates in the United States," which collected assorted statements from extremist publications and recommended a series of unconstitutional measures to deal with the conspiratorial plot it envisioned.

One proposal involves the use of South African-style identity passes for ghetto inhabitants. Another would suspend constitutional guarantees for arrests and detention of suspected "guerrillas." A third would set up concentration camps.

It is the height of irony that a committee of Congress which claims to monitor un-American activities should make a proposal so alien to America as concentration camps. That is typical of the use to which this committee puts the \$375,000 which the House so benevolently bestowed upon it.

I urge my colleagues to read the editorial from this morning's Washington Post of May 15, entitled "These Detention Camps," which follows:

THESE DETENTION CAMPS

That there are still Americans gullible enough to take the House Un-American Activities Committee seriously is attested by the current small hubbub over concentration camps. A report issued recently under the aegis of the Committee suggested that the "guerrilla warfare" allegedly advocated by what Chairman Willis calls "mixed Communist and black nationalist elements" should be countered by treating their activity as an insurrection amounting to a "state of war" so that those responsible could be con-

finned in "detention centers" authorized under the McCarran Act of 1950. The report made a characteristic contribution to inter-racial tension and distrust giving rise to widespread rumors that the centers have already been constructed and are awaiting Negro occupancy.

Representative John Culver, a somewhat maverick member of the Committee who persists in a futile effort to save it from itself, wrote to the Department of Justice regarding the McCarran Act detention camps. He received and put into *The Congressional Record* on Thursday a letter from Assistant Attorney General Yeagley saying that six detention centers were constructed and maintained for a few years after passage of the McCarran Act (a HUAC offspring) but that they were completely abandoned in 1957; use of them for Negroes or anybody else would be, according to Mr. Yeagley, "absolutely unconstitutional."

Attorney General Ramsey Clark has now added to this clarification by asserting categorically: "There are no concentration camps in this country. There are no plans to prepare any concentration camps in this country. No concentration camps are needed in this country." That seems clear enough. All that remains unclear is how an Un-American Activities Committee could conceive of concentration camps as "American."

PRESS ALSO ON SPOT IN VIETNAM WAR

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam has been a misunderstood conflict, and certainly some of our national misunderstanding must be blamed on press coverage of that war. Whether this coverage is a result of ignorance, pessimism, cynicism, a mistrust or dislike of President Johnson, or a combination of these and other reasons, I am not able to say.

Columnist Joseph Alsop, writing for the Washington Post of Sunday, May 12, has explored this situation in depth, and I believe he is able to fairly assess the activities of his fellow journalists in Vietnam. His discussion is written with candor, and he recognizes his own miscalculations, as well as those of others.

This column by Mr. Alsop was quite enlightening to me, and I would like to have it appear in the RECORD.

The column follows:

PRESS CAN'T WIN IN VIETNAM WAR

(By Joseph Alsop)

Because of the Vietnamese war, the American press and its allied media now appear to be between a very rough rock and a very hard place. For a newspaperman who remembers with relish and some pride no less than 36 years of active reporting, it is a dreadful thing to have to say. Yet if we win the war, as I still think we shall, both the press and the allied media will certainly look inconceivably foolish. And if we lose the war, the press will just as certainly be blamed—whenever the horrible inquest begins that will surely follow the first defeat in war in American history.

There you have both rock and hard place, simply and crudely defined. Both the hard place and the rock result from the tone and character of the reporting from Vietnam, of the endless published analyses of Vietnamese

developments, and of the interminable editorializing about the war, by all but a minority of those engaged in these pursuits. This does not mean for one moment that the vast majority of reporters, editorial writers and the rest are not courageous, industrious and honorable men, who have sought to tell the truth according to their lights. But it does mean that for one reason or another, to which I shall try to come later, the part of the truth most of them have told has conveyed an exceptionally misleading picture of the whole truth.

The easiest way to gauge how totally misleading that picture has been is to glance at the amazing letter that Arthur Schlesinger Jr. published on March 22 in *The Washington Post*. The letter was a plea, no doubt honestly anguished, for the immediate evacuation of Khesanh. Schlesinger began by accusing Gen. William C. Westmoreland of "repeating the fatal error of the French (by placing) a large body of troops out in the hills where they can be surrounded and cut off." This, exclaimed Schlesinger, "is precisely what we have succeeded in doing at Khesanh. Today, 500 American soldiers are surrounded and cut off by 20,000 of the enemy, every night creeping and burrowing further in toward their target."

DISMISSED WESTMORELAND

Putting on a borrowed Field Marshal's hat, Schlesinger then explained that no "people in their senses" could possibly "suppose that airpower will now 'save' Khesanh in case of attack." He contemptuously dismissed General Westmoreland as a "tragic and spectacular failure." He included the usual sneer at President Johnson. And so he reached his grand climax, as follows:

"Yes: airpower is one vital difference between Khesanh and Dienbien-phu. For, if airpower cannot save Khesanh, it may still save the men in Khesanh. Let us (use airpower to evacuate Khesanh), before enemy antiaircraft batteries interdict our flights, before enemy mortars destroy our landing strip, before enemy shock troops overrun the base. Let us not sacrifice our brave men to the folly of generals and the obstinacy of Presidents."

In short, Schlesinger was firmly convinced, as late as March 22, that Khesanh and its defenders were sure to be overrun. If his conviction had not been absolute, he would hardly have risked writing such a letter, which he can hardly look back upon today without novel self-doubts. But—and here is the rub—much of the American press and most of the allied media need only read the Schlesinger letter to see themselves, as in a mirror. He was perhaps overeager to believe the worst, and he seems to have taken very poor military advice. But he was above all misled by his informants; and his chief informants, one may be sure, were the front pages and the television shows. "The agony of Khesanh" was one of the current phrases, and others might be cited.

TEDIOUS BATTLE

What, then, was it really like, and what actually happened? To begin with, Khesanh was no more agonizing, though it was a damned sight more tedious and long drawn out, than any other combat experience. We had four battalions in Khesanh—the 26th Marine regiment plus a battalion of the 9th Marines—and the South Vietnamese, of whom Schlesinger appears not to have heard, had the equivalent of two battalions. Like any battle, Khesanh produced its honored dead, for that, alas, is what battles always do. But between the beginning and the end of the siege, the American units at Khesanh actually lost, in killed, not many more than 200 men, whereas a single battalion of Marines lost 70 killed—about one third of the comparable losses of four battalions at Khesanh in the recent hard and heroic fight for Daido, which lasted only a few days.

At Khesanh, again, the American casualties mainly resulted from enemy artillery and mortar fire, rather regularly described as "infernos of incoming." And this was a fairly curious phrase for an enemy rate of fire that averaged only 192 artillery and mortar rounds per day throughout the siege. When I was there for a bit more than a day, for instance, the Khesanh base took 154 incoming rounds. That was a bit below average, but it is still worth noting that except for four badly misaimed rounds fired at the landing zone when I was waiting for a departing helicopter, I actually heard a grand total of three incoming rounds. And despite other infirmities, I am not yet deaf, and the tough and able Khesanh commander, Colonel David Lownds, kindly allowed me to accompany him on a long tour on foot around the whole big base, with the exception of South Vietnamese positions and the hill-outposts held by our Marines beyond the perimeter.

FAILURE OF GIAP

The truth is, indeed, that one of the major but untold stories of Khesanh was the astonishing failure of General Vo Nguyen Giap's logistical planning for his artillery. Besides mortars, Giap had caused to be emplaced, with infinite labor, a minimum of 210 artillery tubes—some estimates go as high as 370 tubes—on a long arc from Co Roc in Laos, along the DMZ, to Cap Muy Le on the coast. Giap had the guns, in short; but at Khesanh and along the DMZ his really ludicrous average rate of artillery fire, again excluding mortars, was less than one round per gun per day in the period of the siege.

Nor is that the end of the story, by any means. On March 21, the day before Schlesinger published his letter, the last of the serious assaults on Khesanh was attempted. It failed in a most sanguinary fashion because of our Marines' courage and the terrible power of our air and artillery. There were either three, or four, or five such attempts in the course of the siege—the number is disputed among the Marines themselves—and all failed in the same manner.

The failure of the last assault, so beautifully coordinated with the Schlesinger letter about Khesanh being "over-run," seems to have been the signal for the withdrawal into Laos of one of the two besieging North Vietnamese divisions, the 325C. This was, in fact, the beginning of the end of Giap's ambitious plan. Despite the inability of "people in their senses" to imagine anything of the sort, air power was already starting to break the Khesanh siege when Schlesinger wrote his letter; for it was the air that hurt the enemy most cruelly and forced the 325C to withdraw to lick its wounds. The situation of the besiegers at that time can be gauged from one of the pitiful little diaries that the North Vietnamese troops quite often keep. The diary, of a private named Vu Xuan Mau, was picked up outside the Khesanh perimeter after the siege was formally and finally broken in the first days of April. Mau's last entry was: "At Khesanh on March 23, a day full of bitter hardships and bloodshed."

MASS BURIALS DISCOVERED

The agony of Khesanh was in reality experienced, not by our brave, hardy but relatively fortunate men in the combat base, but by the unhappy wretches like Private Mau. They were condemned to endure close on three months of incessant and terrible B-52 strikes, plus other air attacks, plus the kind of artillery fire that is maintained by U.S. guns with full logistical support. And what they endured took a fearful toll.

When the 1st Battalion of the 9th Marines moved out from the perimeter on April 4, prisoners of war immediately began to be taken, documents far more important than poor Mao's diary began to be found, and mass burials began to be discovered. The most careful analysis of all the resulting data has now revealed that the two enemy divisions at Khesanh, the 325C and the unfor-

tunate 304th, which had to hang on to the end, almost certainly lost a total of about 10,000 men in the course of the siege. And in the grim mathematics of war, an exchange of 200-plus Americans (and a proportional number of South Vietnamese) against 10,000 North Vietnamese regulars, is the very opposite of a "tragic and spectacular failure."

Once again, moreover, that is by no means the end of the story. Unless General Vo Nguyen Giap is stark, staring mad, the siege of Khesanh was unquestionably no more than one part of a much larger, more ambitious military plan, the Tet offensive. And we should give thanks on bended knee that General Giap saw fit to tie up two of his divisions at Khesanh as part of his Tet plan. In the entire morass of nonsense published about Tet, very little indeed has been said about the one really dangerous situation that the offensive temporarily produced.

This was in the two most northerly provinces of South Vietnam. Here much was written about the long, rough battle for Hue; but almost no attention was given to the disturbingly precarious supply situation caused by bad weather, the weight and persistence of the enemy attack, and the resulting breaks in all the usual supply lines. The position might well have become really unmanageable—the two most Northerly provinces might even have been partly overwhelmed—if Giap had massively increased the weight of his attack in the two-province area, by using the two divisions that were fruitlessly tied up at Khesanh.

TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE

He saw his error soon when the Hue fighting began. He took two battalion pieces from the two divisions at Khesanh, and he marched them south to aid his troops at Hue; but this was too little and too late. Whereas if General Westmoreland had not committed that "tragic and spectacular" error of refusing to abandon Khesanh, two additional North Vietnamese divisions would have been freed, pre-Tet, for other uses in the two Northern provinces; and if that had happened, the consequences would surely have been grave.

Compare, then, these hard facts concerning Khesanh and the fighting there with the picture of Khesanh conveyed by Arthur Schlesinger, who is, after all, an exceedingly intelligent albeit, a violently partisan man. Remember, too, that this disparity between the reality in Vietnam and the picture given to the folks back home has been a standard phenomenon throughout much of the war. Countless examples might be cited, but one more must suffice. The most instructive, probably, is the constant denigration of ARVN that was a pre-Tet fashion in large sectors of the American press. This even earned a mention in dispatches by General Westmoreland for the newspaper that claims preeminence and one of the leading agency reporters in Vietnam.

In a message to the Defense Department, General Westmoreland addressed himself to one of the real puzzles of the Tet offensive: how on earth General Giap could have based his whole plan on the stated expectation of a "general uprising" by the urban population and of widespread defections among the ARVN units. On the second point, General Westmoreland noted that Giap had demonstrably been lied to, on an enormous scale, by the special "troop proselytizing" apparatus of the VC. But he added that he could hardly blame General Giap for being deceived, since the lies of the VC "troop proselytizing" apparatus had appeared to be so largely confirmed by the great American newspaper and the famous press association mentioned above. With mild irony, he concluded that these latter must now appear in Hanoi as important participants in a big American deception-plan—for there were no defections anywhere, and almost all of the ARVN units, 'though understrength because

of the national holiday, fought very well indeed at Tet.

R. F. K. SPEECH BRINGS ANGER

Meanwhile, however, the denigration of ARVN had already fed back into the American political scene. In a Senate speech, for instance, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy described the South Vietnamese troops as "skulking and malingering while our Marines carried the burden of the battle for Hue. The news of the Senator's speech reached Vietnam while I was in I Corps, and I have rarely seen angrier men than the Marine officers who had fought in Hue along with South Vietnamese. Nor was this surprising. In their impact on an obstinate enemy, and in the sacrifices they made themselves, the South Vietnamese in the Hue battle performed almost identically with our own Marines.

They had, for example, 7704 men engaged, and they took 2134 casualties, suffering losses almost exactly proportional to our losses which were happily quite substantially smaller, since we had substantially fewer men engaged.

Furthermore, the South Vietnamese in Hue were fighting under heavy handicaps, as compared with our men. They almost wholly lacked the tanks and other big weapons that gave our units much greater organic firepower. Their arrangements for replacements were much more primitive than ours; and after the first days of sharp contact, not a few ARVN battalions had to fight on, and did fight on, after they had been reduced to 200 men or less. Furthermore, they were frequently called upon to attack, and regularly did attack, when they had to traverse over a hundred yards of the enemy's field of fire before they could bring their own weapons to bear.

That highlights another point of great significance, that was wholly omitted from the pre-Tet denigrations of ARVN. Briefly, General Westmoreland saw trouble ahead, and asked for M-16 rifles and other improved equipment for ARVN as long ago as 1965. For budgetary reasons, apparently, action on Westmoreland's request was long deferred by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Thus, on the one hand, the ARVN units have always been immeasurably weaker than our units, in organic firepower, in all sorts of back-up resources, and above all, in mobility—and they will still be much weaker, despite the M-16 rifles that are now being provided at long last. And on the other hand, there was a long period when the ARVN units even had substantially less firepower than the newly re-equipped VC and North Vietnamese units.

KOREAN STORY AGAIN

Here we have the story of Korea all over again; for the Korean divisions were also denigrated during much of the Korean war, whereas their main weakness arose from the simple fact that they had been grossly under-armed by their American suppliers. This does not mean, to be sure, that ARVN has ever been an ideal army, or that better weapons and more mobility will automatically make ARVN into an ideal army. When President Johnson finally intervened in earnest in Vietnam, ARVN was already a defeated army, and every ARVN officer knew as much. It takes some time to bring back a defeated army to a state of self confident proficiency. It takes even more time, too, to implant a fully modern military system in a traditional Asian society; and this process was not really completed in Korea until President Chung Hee Park finally came to power. Patience is always needed in such matters. But instead of patience we have too often had the kind of shameful injustice Senator Kennedy was led to commit.

When I ask myself why Sen. Kennedy and so many others have been so regularly misled on so many key points concerning the war, I confess to a certain bewilderment. The

fashions of the moment certainly have much to do with it. What has happened in Vietnam in this war resembles, on a vastly larger scale, what happened in the press hostel in Chungking in the war years in China. The fashion then was to make heroes of those virtuous agrarian reformers, Mao Tse-tung and his bloody-minded friends; and just about the only American reporter to avoid making an ass of himself by refusing to follow the fashion was Arch Steele of the old "Herald Tribune." Then too, in the Dien years in Vietnam, certain newspapers acquired what can only be called a vested interest in disaster; and since these were the Saigon bureaus with the greatest continuity, they had great leverage with later-comers. Then again, among younger newspapermen particularly, there is a strange new theory that all American officials and most American military officers are joined together in a vast conspiracy to gull the home folks, which it is the reporter's duty to attack and expose, as though he were attacking and exposing corruption in City Hall. It seems an odd approach to an American war, but it is certainly there.

NOT A HOPELESS WAR

This does not mean for one moment that the pessimists have always been wrong, or that the minority of optimists have always been right. As I look back over my own coverage of the war, I think I have been broadly right about the war's larger patterns, both when I was very much more gloomy than any of my colleagues in the year prior to the American intervention, and after the intervention when I have been more hopeful than most. On the other hand, although I think I got the patterns right, I am well aware that I have sometimes been over-optimistic about the war's time-frames—in part, as over-reaction to the sort of stuff that was so widely written about Khesanh. Yet the fact remains that this has never been, and it is not now a hopeless and unending war; and conveying just this impression has been the main thrust of far too much of the reporting, analyzing and editorializing.

So we get back to that rock and that hard place. Concerning the hard place, it must first of all be remembered that the Hanoi war-leaders' aim has always been to win the war in Washington, by the impact in America of their seeming success in Vietnam, just as the Viet Minh won the French war in Paris rather than at Dienbienphu. Here it is worth noting that the official Hungarian Communist newspaper some time ago published extracts from a strikingly interesting lecture on Dienbienphu, given by General Vo Nguyen Giap during a visit to Hanoi by Hungarian Foreign Minister Andre Sik.

"The battle of Dienbienphu," Giap was quoted as saying, "was essentially the last desperate exertion of the Viet Minh . . . Had we not been victorious there . . . our armed forces were on the verge of complete exhaustion . . . We had to put everything on one card." There are many reasons for believing, and Douglas Pike and all the other truly informed analysts in fact believe, that the motives for the Tet offensive were that Hanoi was in serious danger of losing the war of attrition, and therefore "had to put everything on one card." A major publication that at first reported the Tet offensive in the most lurid and gloomy terms, more recently came round to the view that Tet was a military defeat but a "psychological" success for the enemy. Yet if Tet was a "psychological" success, this was almost solely because the offensive's military motives, its true military results and most of its local effects were in the main painted in colors in America that had few recognizable links with the basic realities in Vietnam.

TO DESPERATE LENGTHS

That was the reason, of course, why Tet was so profound a shock to American opin-

ion. Having put so much "on one card" at Tet, the Hanoi war planners are plainly going to the most desperate lengths, in order to try the same thing all over again. What the outcome will be, and above all, how it will be represented here at home, none can foretell. What the Hanoi war leaders will do if their next attempt fails or is aborted, also cannot be foretold precisely—although it is clear that they will then be in very bad trouble in South Vietnam.

Again, one cannot foretell with precision the effect of the talks, the partial bombing halt, and any future extension of the bombing halt, either in time or in area—but it is clear that the Hanoi war leaders are already beginning to exploit to the full the reduction of pressure, the release of resources by the partial bombing halt and the general easing of their situation that these factors have produced. Unless the President is very firm and very clear-minded, all this may perhaps produce exceedingly worrying consequences on the battlefield, at any rate for a certain period.

The main thing is that the war-situation has at length begun to have a strongly climactic smell. Hence, if the American people have the sturdiness and resolution not to imitate the French, an acceptable end of the war should therefore come into sight eventually, whether at the negotiating table or in other ways. Meanwhile the trouble is that a near-French mood, God save the mark, has been created in many quarters in America. But if this mood leads to final defeat, and there is a subsequent inquest—as there will surely be—the inquest cannot take the form it did last time. There will be no unlucky foreign service officers to serve as convenient victims, although they had far less influence on events and displayed considerably better judgment than most of the denizens of the Chungking press hostel. In the next round (which Heaven forbid), the press and the allied media can hardly avoid being front and center. And if there is a next round, the American people's notable distaste for defeat in any form will probably insure even more injustice and ugliness than we experienced in the last round.

So I can only hope that instead of the hard place we get the rock—which means a great many people looking idiotically silly because we have finally won the war they said could not be won.

THE WORLD WE MUST SHARE

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, every generation worries about its children. We read the papers and wonder if we have taught our children the things they should know, if we have set a good example, if they will be able to assume the responsibilities of adulthood when the time comes.

I think that in many cases the young people of our Nation have already assumed those responsibilities and taken up the burden of a social duty. One young man, James Clark Abbott, has demonstrated his concern for the good of our country.

Jim is a senior at James Blair High School in Williamsburg, Va. He has been active in many school organizations. As a leader of his school he was asked to address the congregation of the First Bap-

tist Church of Williamsburg on April 21, 1968.

I believe his speech will be a source of inspiration to all Members of the House and, with consent, I include it in the RECORD at this point:

THE WORLD WE MUST SHARE

(Text of speech delivered by James C. Abbott to the congregation of the First Baptist Church of Williamsburg, Va., April 21, 1968)

"I would first like to thank you, the members of this church for allowing me to participate in this worship service. I feel that it is a landmark in our continuing search for peace and understanding when a member of one race can speak freely in a church whose membership is composed largely of members of another race. After accepting Mrs. Alexander's invitation to speak here this morning I began to ponder and to search my soul for a topic which I could speak in honesty and from the inner regions of my heart. I didn't want to come here and spout off a lot of meaningless words just to impress you, as I strongly feel that any opportunity of contact in fellowship between the people of this country and the peoples of this world should be used to its fullest extent. Finally, after several hours of soul searching, I arrived at the topic of . . . "The World We Must Share." It is my belief that God Almighty has put the Americans, the Russians, the Chinese, the French, all of us on this world to serve him as best we can. In his commandments, he has asked that we join together and live peacefully as brothers, and that we love thy neighbor as thyself. He asked that all of his people share this world . . .

In this country, he has asked us to share a land that is over 3,000 miles long and over 2,300 miles in width. A land that is fertile in natural resources, a land that has always been, and is today, rich with intelligent minds. In fact, over 90% of the scientists who ever lived, are alive today; and over 85% of the Ph.D.'s that have ever been granted, have been granted since World War II. However, instead of sharing this land, we have transformed it into a land where today, over 32 million Americans live in dilapidated housing; a land where 14½ million Americans under the age of 17 do not have a proper diet because of poverty; a land in which 70% of the people live on only 1% of the land. The Lord has put over 200 million Americans on this world to share this land. This number increases each day by some 6400. By the year 2000, there will be well over 300 million people striving to make a decent living off of this land. We complain today about our problems with air pollution, lack of food, adequate housing, and jobs. What will our problems be like in the year 2000? Many of us in this room today, will be in our thirties and forties, and it will be up to us to face these problems and to find solutions for them.

Yes, we do have our problems today, but hasn't every generation since time began had it's share of problems? I believe, as did the late President Kennedy who once said, "Our problems are made by man . . . therefore, they can be solved by man." Yet, each generation must produce it's own leaders and answers to solve their problems. Since our country's beginning less than two hundred years ago we have produced such leaders as: George Washington who brought purpose and courage to our country during a time when it was plagued by enemy forces. Abraham Lincoln rose during the Civil War to unite the States that were torn by the war. In 1932 Franklin Roosevelt said, "I look across the land, and I see 10 million Americans, ill fed, ill housed, and ill clad." Through his congressional acts he helped to

remedy many of these problems. In recent history, John Kennedy renewed the sense of courage and faith in the American people with his firm stands in the Cuban missile crisis, and the Berlin crisis. I feel, that as long as we have faith there will always be people ready to answer the call of duty that is sounding constantly throughout the world.

As for our present time, let us begin to ask ourselves today, "what will historians say in the years to come of the sixties?" In one sense, it is too soon to talk of the sixties for much of the drama remains to yet be played out. Nevertheless, certain things are already clear about this decade. The sixties have been an age in which the youth have expressed more than ever before their beliefs and convictions. It has been an age of hippies and anti-war protesters. And sadly enough, it has been an age of hypocrisy, as President Johnson once put it, "to strike the chains of a slave is noble. To leave him the captive of the color of his skin is hypocrisy." To be certain, the sixties will be remembered as a time when people searched their souls about morals, civil rights, and war. It is safe to say also, that the sixties will go down in history as the age of the Vietnam war. Even though this war did not really begin to affect this country and the world until this decade was half over. Of course, there is now some hope that the sixties will end in peace. That, my friends, is up to you, to me, and to the leaders of the world.

On Monday night of this week, Senator Fred Harris, who served as a member of President Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, told a group of area residents and William and Mary students that the Number one problem in America today is not the Vietnam war, the monetary crisis, or the population explosion, but the Number one problem is racism. Senator Harris said that racism is also the Number one mental health problem that we face today in America. It is always accompanied by violence and it cripples far more people than does any other disease.

Let us today, in the presence of God, honestly ask ourselves the question, "what can I do to help in better sharing this country and this world?" I sincerely believe that we, as Americans, must reach out and learn to understand each other. We must also reach out and understand the Communists and other peoples, and that they too, must do the same. Earlier this year at James Blair, we initiated a project called "project communicate." It was our hope that by sending copies of the *Blarion*, our school newspaper and copies of the *Virginia Gazette* to high schools around the world that we might open lines of communication between our students and students in other countries. Through these lines of communication, we hope to exchange ideas both political and social.

If we are to share this world, I feel that we must strive to make this "the golden age of understanding." However, we cannot sit idly by and hope for this understanding to take place. We must act now, in Williamsburg, in Virginia, and in the United States. What greater day to act? What greater age to begin understanding than now, when half of our country is a slave to hate and the other half is free to understanding? It is regretful that our forefathers did not begin this "golden age of understanding," but let this not discourage us. Let us begin to understand so that those who follow us can live in complete freedom. Let us all pray to God that the understanding so badly needed today need not come from the lessons of war and defeat and from riots in our streets, but rather from the belief in our American way of life and through the orderly process of our Government, ruled by the minds of our free citizens.

On the local level, I feel the people of Williamsburg should be commended on their

performance during the past several years. To my knowledge, I know of not one racial incident in the past three years that would mar this city's racial history. Perhaps, we here, in this colonial capitol, situated in the birthplace of our country, are on the right road to understanding and to sharing this world. Let us stay on this road, and work to improve it where necessary, and let us oppose any outsiders who would attempt to destroy this road. Next year, Williamsburg's two high schools will merge into one. In many cities throughout our country today, a similar merger would be met with firm opposition and would have to overcome great obstacles. However, I believe that I speak quite honestly when I say from a student's standpoint, the consolidation is understood by the students and is being supported generally by them.

During the past week, students from both schools have met to nominate possible leaders for next year's James Blair student government. As I participated in those meetings, I could not help but feel a sense of pride in the youth of this area. For it was deeply encouraging to me to see students from a mainly Negro school, and students from a mainly white school working together, as one body for the betterment of the one school that they will form next year. I also feel that the student government elections to be held this week, will be based on ability and not on color. I saw this at the nominating meetings and I have sensed it in the students. I am sure that the combined efforts of these students and their parents will provide a school system in which an equal education is assured for all.

Recently, our Nation was saddened by the brutal slaying of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. On the night of his death, I sat at my desk until the early hours of the morning, and I wondered, and I worried about the significance that his death would have on our country's future. I realized then, more than ever, that for years, the people of this country have been increasing the divisions that had already existed in our country. And I remembered the words of President Lincoln when he said, "A house divided against itself, cannot stand." Would Reverend King's death plunge our Nation into a disastrous civil war? I asked myself this over and over again. Or would it unite the races and encourage all our people to create a kind of a land where men may be firm in their convictions and speak their beliefs without running the risk of being murdered. Before retiring on that fatal night, I wrote a short eulogy dedicated to Martin Luther King. I have shown it to no one, and I would like to read it to you this morning:

EULOGY FOR A KING

"Martin Luther King, was a Negro. He, was an American. John F. Kennedy was a white. He was also an American. Today, these two Americans are dead. They are not dead because of the color of their skin. They are dead because they stood firm in their convictions. Twice in the past five years, America has mourned the needless loss of a leader. Is this kind of America the land of the free and the home of the brave

"I have gone to the mountain top, I have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.' How many ages hence will these words live on? Words spoken by a man who had not yet reached the peak of life, for this life was mercilessly ended by an assassin's bullet. A man who preached equality for all, and believed in violence for none. Martin Luther King has now returned to the mountain top that he spoke of only twenty four hours before his death. May he rest in peace."

In his 1963 March on Washington, Reverend King said, "I have a dream today, I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low. The rough places will be made plain and the crooked places will be made straight. And the glory of the Lord shall be

revealed and all flesh shall see it together. This is our hope with this faith we shall be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will one day be free. This will be the day when all of Gods children will be able to sing with new meaning:

"My country tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing:
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims pride,
From every mountain side
Let freedom ring."

Martin Luther King had a dream for America and as he said it was "a dream deeply rooted in the American dream." America should rededicate itself to Martin Luther King's dream. As in the words of Bob Dylan:

"How many roads must a man walk down
before he's called a man?
How many seas must a white dove sail
before he sleeps in the sand?
How many times must the cannon balls fly
before they're forever banned?
How many years can a mountain exist
before it's washed in the sea?
How many years can some people exist
before they're allowed to be free?
How many times can a man turn his head
and pretend that he just doesn't see?
How many times must a man look up
before he can see the sky?
How many ears must one man have
before he can hear people cry?
How many deaths will it take till he knows
that too many people have died?"

On Christmas Day of 1967, Lou Harris released a survey that asked both white and black people if they thought that there could one day be harmony between the races. The results of the survey showed that 53% of the white people asked said no; 10% of the white people were undecided. But 67% of the Negroes asked, said that they thought there could be harmony. This survey is evidence that the Negro people are willing to overcome this white racism, and to begin understanding.

The words "we shall overcome" have often been used by Negroes to signify their determination to be equal. Only until recently has it been that I have found the real meaning of this song. I had always thought that it meant that we shall overcome and defeat the white people. As Khrushchev once said, "We will bury you!" But the song has deeper meaning than that. I think that it means we will overcome prejudice, hate and fear. This song should be sung by every American, it should become a musical symbol of what America stands for. For it is only then, only when we the peoples of all the world have overcome this hate, prejudice, and fear . . . then we will be able to share this world.

I have also had a dream. I dream that one day the people of not only this country, but those of every nation in this world will be able to say . . .

"Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, we're free at last." Thank you.

MRS. VAN WYE OF CEDARHURST
DONATES PAINTING TO HOUSE
WIVES

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on May 15, 1968, a painting entitled "Flowers of Joy" was unveiled in the House of Repre-

representatives Family Room. Mrs. Bea Van Wye of Cedarhurst, N.Y., one of my constituents and a dear friend, is the artist who donated her work in honor of the wives and families of the Members of the House.

It was a historic occasion for Long Island and we are very proud of Bea Van Wye and her contribution which has beautified the Family Room of the House.

The dean of the House of Representatives, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER, unveiled the work of art and the distinguished Speaker of the House, the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK, accepted the painting on behalf of the House of Representatives.

I want to express my appreciation to the Clerk of the House, the Honorable Pat Jennings, who served as master of ceremonies. I regret that due to illness, I was unable to personally congratulate my dear friend Beatrice Van Wye.

Mrs. Tenzer joins me in thanking Bea Van Wye for her thoughtful gift to the Members of Congress, their wives and families. I am proud to have one of Mrs. Van Wye's works—a painting of a scene overlooking the United Nations Building—hanging in my congressional office.

I also want to thank Col. Zetta Jones, a charming woman, who coordinated the arrangements for dedication ceremonies.

It must be very gratifying for Mrs. Van Wye to know that the wives of House Members will enjoy her painting in the Family Room and that the people of Long Island and the Fifth Congressional District are very proud of her.

FEDERAL FUNDS AND CAMPUS RIOTS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the May 14, 1968, issue of the Evening Star of Washington, D.C., contains an article entitled "Federal Funds and Campus Riots," written by David Lawrence.

Mr. Lawrence states that the House of Representatives has passed a measure that will prohibit the granting of Federal loans and scholarships to students who are involved in a serious obstruction of college activity.

Liberals are protesting against the bill as a misuse of Government power, but they forget that the U.S. Government has been using the same method for the last few years by requiring colleges and universities to obey the regulations concerning racial discrimination.

In order to enlighten the opponents of the proposed legislation, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL FUNDS AND CAMPUS RIOTS

(By David Lawrence)

Does Congress have the right to stipulate that federal loans and scholarships shall not be granted to any students who are involved

in a "serious obstruction" of college activity? The House of Representatives has passed such a measure and has sent it to the Senate. Protests against the bill are being voiced on the theory that this is a misuse of government power.

But, strangely enough, the United States government has been employing precisely this method for the last few years in requiring colleges and universities to obey the regulations concerning racial discrimination issued by the government or else lose the benefit of federal funds in everything from student loans to construction and equipment grants.

When the Department of Health, Education and Welfare began to threaten the withdrawal of federal funds from educational institutions because they were allegedly failing to comply with the "law of the land," the so-called "liberals" were silent. Today they are denouncing the House bill which seeks to withhold federal funds in order to punish college students who defy constituted authority.

A brief editorial in the New York Times yesterday which criticized the House bill will be welcomed by educators who have hitherto gotten little support in their opposition to the employment of federal funds as a form of blackmail. The editorial says:

"The threat by the House to punish rebellious college students by cutting them off from federal loans and scholarships is a dangerous excursion into political primitivism. The disregard of campus democracy by a minority of disruptive and irresponsible students at Columbia and elsewhere in no way justifies such congressional vendettas in direct conflict with democratic freedoms. Campus stability must be safeguarded by sound reforms on the part of the academic community and by enforcement of its own democratic rules, not by governmental threats of fiscal sanctions.

"It is deeply disturbing that so many politicians appear to think of federal subsidy of students as an indulgent uncle's benefaction. In reality, the extension of educational opportunities is at least as vital to the future health of the nation as it is to the personal careers of individual students. But, more important, to turn federal stipends into a device to regulate student views and behavior is to stoop to methods generally associated with totalitarian states. Such action can only give support to those extremists among today's students who charge that the campus is doing the mercenary bidding of a repressive establishment.

"Federal interference with higher education is an intolerable violation of academic freedom. To permit such intrusions would undermine the nation's security far more severely than the disruptive insurrection of irresponsible youths."

The foregoing commentary will be read with interest by the administrators of many colleges and schools which have been struggling in the last few months with problems growing out of racial imbalance. For the federal government has cut off funds from four colleges since Jan. 1, 1967—all of them private institutions. Eighteen hospitals have been deprived of federal money or have been threatened with its loss.

Federal funds constitute a powerful lever in compelling conformity with the views of governing authorities on how education should be conducted. The Times editorial, therefore, will be regarded in many parts of the country as a recognition of the fact that the power to grant or withhold federal funds permits a kind of blackmail and cannot be tolerated, no matter how worthy the objective.

There are plenty of laws on the statute books which can be used to punish students who are disorderly, seize private property or disrupt the operations of colleges, just as there are laws prohibiting racial discrimina-

tion. It should not be necessary to threaten to withhold federal funds as a means of securing compliance with the ordinances of a city or the laws of a state or the preservation of order.

CRUCIFIXION CITY, U.S.A.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the human time bomb—called a poor people's march—now festers in our Nation's Capital, thanks to a permit granted by national leaders.

For while talking poverty, it takes unusual direction for its support and maintenance—a sort of guarantee that it must go off.

The poor folks nucleus is now to be reinforced by college students—including the Columbia University destroyers; lawyers are setting up a service scheme to prevent arrest and intimidate law officers from acting except in the most serious cases and a "brain-washing" hate university is to be set up to indoctrinate those who permit themselves to be used and duped.

A real production to commemorate 1968, the anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, U Thant and his United Nations planners must be proud of their operation to belittle the United States. See my remarks in the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 20, 1967, page A1386.

This invasion should be decried with vigor by all decent Americans. Most poor people I know are loyal patriotic Americans. Being poor does not make one cantankerous, seditious, nor immoral. Most poor people would not be caught dead with the majority of this crowd of disloyalists hiding under a poor people's sheet.

This is no resurrection city—they are not planning a rebirth of America; rather they are dead set at destroying the image of the United States of America at our Nation's Capital.

"Insurrection City," yes, but a more fitting and proper name would seem to be "Crucifixion City."

I include several local news clippings over the past few days following my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 14, 1968]

SOME 5,000 COLLEGIANS EXPECTED TO JOIN MARCH

(By John Mathews)

At least 5,000 to 6,000 college students are expected to come here as active participants in the Poor People's Campaign, beginning with the massive march planned for Memorial Day, a campaign official said yesterday.

The students—many of them likely to be fresh from activist campaigns on their own college campuses—will stay for weekends, weeks or all summer, said Stoney Cooks, coordinator for student and campus activities of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Cooks, a three-year veteran of SCLC civil rights campaigns, personally has visited 93 college campuses since last Dec. 26, ranging

from predominantly Negro colleges in the South to Harvard, Yale, Columbia, New York and Boston Universities.

The students and many of their teachers will form the nucleus of a "Poor People's University" that plans classes in nonviolent tactics as a preparation for student participation in campaign demonstrations and in such subjects as the economics of poverty, racism, capitalism as a system and the relation between the Vietnam war and poverty.

Potential faculty members include Kenneth Clark, the noted psychologist; singers Harry Belafonte and Joan Baez; David Dellinger, organizer of the march on the Pentagon last fall; Ivanhoe Donaldson the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Michael Harrington, the writer and social critic.

Speakers to be invited range from Henry Ford and John Gardner, the former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to comedian Dick Gregory and Todd Gitlin and Tom Hayden, former presidents of Students for a Democratic Society, the militant campus group.

Students, most of whom are not expected until after they complete exams during the next two weeks, are being asked to sign a pledge of nonviolence.

Campus recruiters are asked in an instructional leaflet to impress on students that the Poor People's Campaign will not be a repeat of the October march on the Pentagon "where we got beat on the head and then sent home. Now we're staying, a non-violent army of tens of thousands, until we get a constructive response to the plight of the poor."

Cooks said it is hoped also that lectures and discussions at the "Poor People's University," which "may meet under the trees," will inspire students to return to their home communities and campuses to mount similar local confrontations. SCLC is planning a college-level organization to continue the Poor People's Campaign, Cook said.

Another educational component of the campaign, the "Freedom School" for participants in the march—children, young persons and adults—was described yesterday at a luncheon of the Educational Press Association at the Pitts Motel.

Charles W. Cheng of the Washington Teachers Union, who is directing the "Freedom School," said the school probably will be operating by the end of the week after residents of "Resurrection City" express their ideas on its format.

(At one point, Cheng referred to the shanty town near the Lincoln Memorial as "Insurrection city," producing smiles and laughter from campaign leaders.)

"Our education philosophy is going to deal with racism, poverty and oppression and the filthy war in Vietnam," he added.

District public school officials yesterday still were awaiting word from the city legal office on what obligation, if any, city schools have to school-age children with the campaign.

Corporation Counsel Charles T. Duncan, representing Mayor Washington at the symbolic driving of the first stake for the shanty town yesterday, said his office is considering the issue. But he added that campaign participants probably would fall in the category of nonresidents who have to pay tuition if they want their children enrolled in public schools.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., May 12, 1968]

LEGAL ADVICE MEMO PREPARED FOR POOR MARCH PARTICIPANTS

A detailed memorandum—and telephone number for legal aid—is being distributed by the Washington Legal Services Committee for participants in the Poor People's Campaign who might be arrested.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy has warned that acts of civil disobedience may be committed at some point during the protest if action is not taken on their demands. Abernathy so far has not revealed what form the acts may take.

Following is the advice being given those arrested:

"1. When you are arrested, try to find out and remember who saw your arrest and what you are charged with. Remember the arresting officer's name (or badge number.) If you become the object of brutality, again try to find out and remember who saw it and who did it and tell your attorney.

"2. The police may not search you before you are arrested unless you consent. If you consent, they can use anything they find against you. If you are searched with or without your consent, remember who did it and what they took and tell your attorney.

"3. Remain Silent. The police must warn you that you have the right to remain silent. Any statement that you make may be used against you. Aside from giving the police your name, speak only with your attorney or his agent which we will provide for you. Do not sign any statements. The police may not use any means to force you to say anything.

"4. You have the right to any attorney and the right to have that attorney with you at any time the police question you. We have attorneys for you. Make no statements, either oral or written, before you talk to the attorney. Speak only with the Poor People's Campaign's Attorneys. Also, if the police should order you into a line-up you have the right to have your attorney there too. Demand that he be there.

"5. You have the right to call your attorney. The phone number is _____. Call this number as soon as possible after you are arrested.

"6. You must be taken into court without unnecessary delay after your arrest or on the next day on which the court is in session. You have the right to have your attorney there. If a Poor People's Campaign attorney is not there, politely tell the judge that you have an attorney and don't want any attorney but a Poor People's Campaign Attorney and that you want him there before you say anything."

(The telephone number was deleted by the Star because it could not be verified yesterday.)

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 13, 1968]

URBAN LEAGUE TO GIVE FACTS ON MARCH

The Washington Urban League has opened a rumor control center to operate seven days a week from 8 a.m. to midnight for the duration of the Poor People's Campaign.

David Rusk said the center will be similar to that operated during the April riots by the league but will make "a greater effort to run down rumors to their sources."

The basic purpose will be to provide the public with accurate information about the campaign's purposes, plans and activities, Rusk said, and dispel misinformation.

The center will operate from the league's Neighborhood Development Center at 1009 New Jersey Ave. NW. In addition to using statements from government and Southern Christian Leadership Conference sources, the league said it will have a "network" of volunteer two-man teams present at campaign activities to provide accurate accounts.

The number for the public is 628-7011.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 15, 1968]

POOR PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY PLANNED TO SPECIALIZE IN STUDY OF POVERTY

(By Bernadette Carey)

Organizers of the Poor People's Campaign are working with a committee of faculty

members at area colleges to set up a Poor People's University.

The special school for the study of poverty, its problems and tactics for its elimination, hopes to enroll between 5000 and 7000 people, predominantly among the college students expected to come to Washington to join Campaign demonstrations.

It is scheduled to open May 29, and to run through the remainder of the Campaign.

Supporters of the program have already met with representatives of the consortium of five area universities (American, Catholic, George Washington, Georgetown and Howard), and have requested use of classrooms, dormitories and other facilities on their campuses.

The universities are expected to respond to those requests at a meeting tonight.

"We know that lots of young people who are planning to come here for the Poor People's Campaign, have very poor reasons for coming," explained Stoney Cooks, 25-year-old coordinator of campus and student activities for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and originator of the idea for a Poor People's University.

"But we hope to use even their vague interest to get them involved in our movement—not just while they're here, but in our summer task force for youth, and after they've returned to their schools and communities."

Cooks said the courses will include such titles as "Welfare Regulations and Qualifications," and "The Negative Income Tax," to "The Psychology of Racism," and "The Corporate Establishment."

Though many leaders of organizations participating in the campaign would act as teachers and leaders of discussion groups the proposed university also hopes to have a corps of experts such as author Michael Harrington, Ebony magazine editor Lerone Bennett Jr., and Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Cooks said the university would require no qualification for prospective students, and that poor people and young people not currently enrolled in any college would be eligible.

"We hope to provide housing and some meals for those participating," he added. "But we are asking that those students who can afford it bring money of their own."

Cooks identified the members of the faculty committee working with him on the university as: Grady Tyson and Bernard Ross of American University, Sister Mary Gerald of Trinity College, Cynthia Thomas of Georgetown U., Clifton Jones and Roy D. Jones of Howard, Mal Harris of George Washington and Sister Mary Frieda of Catholic U.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 13, 1968]

MARCHING TO A NEW DRUM

(By Mary McGrory)

In the summer of 1963, when it became apparent that Negro leaders could not be dissuaded from their march on Washington, the Kennedy administration took it over.

Certain members of Congress warned of horrors to come. Some Southerners feared for American womanhood and warned women to stay home.

But the sponsorship of the march was heavily sprinkled with clergy, promising strict control. The Archbishop of Washington, Patrick A. O'Boyle, on seeing the advance script of the chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, John Lewis, threatened to withdraw if such a fiery speech were delivered. It was enough to cause Lewis to moderate his remarks.

MILITANTS SCORNFUL

Those were, in retrospect, the innocent days of the civil rights movement. Today's

black power militants look back with contempt on that sun-lit gathering as "a Sunday school picnic."

President Johnson cannot take over the Poor People's Campaign for fear of creating a precedent for other invading armies. He has been beseeched by certain members to use his influence to call off the march, which has occasioned what Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., calls "apprehension bordering on hysteria."

Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark has promised that "the law will be enforced."

But Sen. John McClellan, D-Ark., has been thundering that militants have infiltrated the poor and are "bragging that they will not leave Washington without new wardrobes which they will acquire when the looting starts."

FEAR OF THE UNKNOWN

The fear of this march is the fear of the unknown. Its purpose was not clearly defined even by its originator, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., whose murder touched off the disturbances still vivid in the minds of the shaken capital.

King evidently hoped to reassert his precarious hold on the civil rights movement by a kind of ultimate demonstration of what he called "militant nonviolence." Now his heir, Dr. Ralph Abernathy, a less gifted orator and politician, seems to be using the march as a means of consolidating his succession.

His hapless promise of May 2 to "turn Washington downside up and upside down" is much quoted by those who expect the worst.

Nobody knows now many people are coming or how long they will stay. One thing that is clear is that an encampment of strangers is bad for business. Nervous townspeople are unwilling to purchase goods that seem imminently subject to the arsonist's torch.

CONTROL QUESTIONABLE

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is in charge. It is an organization of admirable spirit, but of such notorious inefficiency that its members are expected to be late for the last trump.

Its ability to cope with the firebrands and thieves expected to be attracted by the proceedings is questionable.

While Congress as a whole subscribes to the view that the march can bring nothing but disaster, some few have taken a constructive line.

Sen. Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., has promised to receive any delegates from his home state. He thinks it is incumbent on lawmakers "to listen, and not just talk."

[From the Washington (D.C. Post, May 15, 1968]

THE FEDERAL DIARY—ROLE OF U.S. EMPLOYEES IN MARCH TOLD BY CSC (By Jerry Klutz)

Federal employes were told yesterday that they are generally free to participate in the Poor People's Campaign either as individuals or as marshals but they also were warned of its possible hazards.

In addition, they were advised not to distribute printed material on the march on Government property or to use agency bulletin boards for march posters, and that they cannot work for the marchers on Government time.

These guidelines, issued by the Civil Service Commission, will be used to determine agency and employe participation in the campaign.

As a general rule, CSC declared employe participation would not have an adverse affect on their jobs. It noted this same position was taken in last October's march on the Pentagon and the recent signing by employes of the Vietnam peace petition.

But it cautioned employes not to participate if the march should be directed against

their agencies "in such a way as to constitute the public criticism" of the agencies and their programs.

"This is especially advisable," CSC stressed, "if the employe occupies a position in which his official duties require him to recommend or directly support the policies or operations being criticized. For such an employe publicly to criticize the policies which it is his duty to make and support, would compromise his value as an employe."

CSC warned that employes would face disciplinary action if they became involved in improper conduct in connection with the march. On this point it wrote:

"It also is important to keep in mind that even if an employe's participation in a march or demonstration is otherwise permissible, if a disturbance breaks out or the event becomes disorderly to the point where violations of law occur, and the employe becomes involved to the extent that adverse notoriety results or he is arrested, the employe will be held responsible for his conduct.

"If in such case the facts establish improper conduct on the part of the employe, he can be disciplined for it. The fact that it ensued from what was expected to be an orderly demonstration would be no excuse."

In prohibiting the use of agency bulletin boards for march posters, CSC held that the Poor People's Campaign is a "means of petitioning the Congress. The principal announced purpose of the march is to persuade the Congress to enact laws to aid in ending poverty. Agencies in the executive branch are not authorized to aid any private group in petitioning Congress by lending the use of executive branch facilities."

CSC further ruled that an employe on duty "cannot devote official time to participate in the march in a private capacity." It added, however, that "some officials and employes can participate in matters concerning the march" when authorized by their superiors.

Those employes who wish to participate in the march in a private capacity, CSC decided, "may be granted annual leave on the same basis as it is granted for other purposes, that is, when the employe can be spared without undue interruption of the agency's work."

The National Association of Government Employees says it will go to court if the Environmental Science Services Administration withdraws recognition from its New York union local, because members staged a demonstration there.

Some of the Weather Bureau employes who are NAGE members, are facing five-day suspensions for their activities, which the Bureau says violated the Government's labor-management executive order. NAGE President Kenneth T. Lyons says the agency, in effect, has sentenced the employes before they have been found guilty. Lyons says his union will not participate in hearings scheduled on the matter.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., May 13, 1968]

TWO VIEWS OF THE POOR'S CAMPAIGN (By Haynes Johnson)

The Poor People's Campaign has barely begun, but already it is proving educational.

That is one way of saying it is, so far, still something of all things to all people—with no one yet entirely sure of its goals or direction.

It has not realized the fears felt by so many. Neither has it come and conquered in some great emotional surge. The hard problems still lie ahead.

To those charged with over-all responsibility, the Washington officials and the congressmen, it remains a test of their ability to maintain calm in the face of rumors and uncertainty. To the Ralph Abernathys and other Southern Christian Leadership Conference

members, it continues to be an opportunity for redressing old grievances and a challenge to the quality of their leadership.

THREE ORDINARY VIEWS

But those are the views from the top. For a more personal—and probably more useful—lesson, take the example of three persons who came to the grounds near the Lincoln Memorial yesterday where the poor will be housed.

The first two are Negroes. Both are 15, both ninth-grade students who left school as soon as they heard of the move north.

Until last week Lorine Doggan and Clara Deal had never been more than 20 miles away from their home in Crenshaw, Miss., population 1,382. Now they have seen half the country, and the Nation's Capitol.

They have also arrived at some conclusions. "In every city that we went, there was bad places," said Lorine. "Like here."

And, of Washington, Clara added: "I was expecting more. I was expecting it to look better than it really does. We wasn't expecting to see no slum areas. Some places here are badder than some places in Mississippi.

"All of this stuff in the streets, you know, paper and rags and trash and all that. But the worst was the alley we saw near that church where we stayed. O-o-o-h!"

Her friend interrupted: "I'd say that the people here in Washington, they are just like the people in Mississippi. I thought Washington would be prettier than it was."

Neither, however, seemed disillusioned. One said, "We're glad we came." The other said she planned to stay "as long as possible."

Clearly, they believe their campaign will help them. They may be wiser about the country, but they have no doubt about themselves or about their people.

That is not the case with that other face in the crowd yesterday. He is a doubter, and a cynic. He came to observe, and he left apparently convinced that he had found what he already suspected—that the Poor People's Campaign is a sham.

It was late in the afternoon, and from all corners on the green adjoining the Reflecting Pool came the sound of hammering. The tools were being wielded by an odd assortment of workmen: Men and women in straw hats and sombreros, a Negro youth in a sweatshirt bearing an inscription "Sock Soul," and a young white girl in a white lace party dress.

They were putting up the structures for what is officially called "Resurrection City, U.S.A.," certainly one of the more grandiose names of our times.

HE DOESN'T GET IT

While all the work proceeded with earnest energy, this white man stood with his arms folded, looking on the scene and gratuitously volunteering his views in a stream of conversation.

"It's like the State Fair, isn't that it?" he said. "They're all on a holiday, isn't that it? I'll bet you there's not a one of them couldn't get a job if he wanted to. Where are they really from, anyway? And who's paying for all that lumber? That costs something, I'll tell you, I'll bet the Federal Government's giving it away.

"I'm in the feed and fertilizer business, north of Indianapolis, and we need good men who are willing to work. Now you look at them. If they'd just put that energy to work they could really get somewhere.

"You understand, I'm not against Negroes. We're not against them in Indiana. They have their place, but this thing—I mean, I just don't get it."

After much more of the same, he strolled away, shaking his head, assured he had learned his part of the truth.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C.,
May 13, 1968]

CONSTRUCTION OF RESURRECTION CITY UNDER
WAY

(By Lee Flor)

The main construction work on Resurrection City for the Poor People's Campaign "camp-in" was to start today after the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy drives in the first stake to mark off a tent site.

The builders of the "city"—on a site south of the Reflecting Pool—started work Saturday and by late yesterday had most of the material there for the residents.

The volunteer workers brought the prefabricated plywood and frame material to the site and left it under guard overnight.

Nash Castro, regional director of the National Park Service and John Wiebenson, the architect for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's shelter program, worked on last-minute revisions at the site.

Because trees dominate part of the site, the orderly plans for rows of plywood and canvas tents and bathing structures may be changed slightly. Wiebenson and the hundreds of volunteer workmen are expected to improvise as they go along, changing their plans and remaining flexible.

The workmen today want to run water connections from fire hydrants so men working on the city can have drinking water. The first temporary toilets were put in place yesterday, but larger chemical toilets were expected to be brought to the field today.

The builders want to have enough construction finished by tonight so that some of the tents may be occupied.

By tomorrow, the builders want the first 250 sleeping units to be completed for the first 1,300 residents. They expect to have up to 3,000 persons living in the area covered by a park permit—a 15-acre plot between the Reflecting Pool, 17th Street, Independence Avenue and the Lincoln Memorial.

Campaign leaders said they expect to have 3,000 residents by the end of the week, filling the 15 acres, and believe they will have to ask for additional living space.

Preliminary plans call for a central tent, about 60 feet by 90 feet, to serve as a cafeteria-dining hall. Food is to be prepared outside the area and brought to the tent.

Later the builders expect to erect a more permanent dining hall. Also, a small city hall and maintenance shop are to be built.

The large "town hall" type meetings for the residents, however, are expected to be held on the west steps of the Reflecting Pool patio.

Engineers and volunteer diggers yesterday were unable to locate the old sewer pipes that were left in the ground after World War II asbestos-shingle temporary office buildings were torn down.

Later today, tomorrow or on Wednesday, the builders want to bring in a large ditch-digging machine, both to excavate for temporary sewage lines and to find the old sewer pipes.

The sewage lines will be used for bathwater only—not for toilets.

Wiebenson said the chemical toilets would be cleaned every day, and trash and garbage would be hauled away every evening. There are large colonies of rats in the park area and the City's builders want to avoid feeding them.

The City designers drew blueprints that showed an art gallery to display paintings by the poor dramatizing poverty. Also, tentative plans call for later construction of an ornamental gate for an entrance to the City.

The City will have two "fire lanes" in the center, with space for fire trucks to get quickly to any plywood-canvas structure. In the center, between the fire lanes, will be

located the dining hall, play area for children, the City hall, maintenance shops and general communications equipment such as loudspeakers and bulletin boards.

Striking an offbeat note yesterday, one observer of the campaign brought a truck with lettering proclaiming that the world was coming to an end.

The truck, without license plates, was parked in the southwest corner of the tent-city site.

The truck's message warned that 1968 is the year that a major catastrophe will strike. In sequence, there will be wind, earthquakes, tidal waves, and fires, the truck warned.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 15,
1968]

MARCHERS MOVE IN, HINT A LONG STAY

(By Willard Clopton Jr.)

"Resurrection City USA" acquired its first settlers and a zip code yesterday, as hints were given that the poor people's shantytown by the Reflecting Pool could become a semi-permanent encampment.

"We may be here two or three years," the Rev. James Bevel, a top official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said at an afternoon press briefing.

The Rev. Bernard Lafayette Jr., national coordinator of the Poor People's Campaign, told newsmen that the protesters are prepared to ignore the June 16 expiration date for the permit that allows them to camp on West Potomac Park.

"The permit may run out, but we will not be run out," he said and added: "We got our permission to stay here from the American Indians."

About 600 camp-in participants, most of them from Mississippi, are in Washington now. Five other caravans of demonstrators are moving toward the city from other regions of the country but none is due to arrive before Thursday.

At the camp site, the banging of hammers competed with the overhead roar of jetliners, and by nightfall more than 100 plywood-and-plastic shanties had been erected.

A Campaign spokesman said that at least 200 persons would be living in the structures by last night.

One postal official said the settlement had been tentatively assigned the zip code of 20013. But another said the matter of mail delivery was still being worked out.

A wooden barricade went up at the camp entrance yesterday and Campaign marshals politely shooed away reporters and other outsiders.

Several explanations were given.

"We are not animals in a zoo, but people trying to establish a nonviolent community," said the Rev. A. E. Sampson, an SCLC field director. Mr. Bevel said it was to keep the work crews from being distracted, while Mr. Lafayette said it was to prevent injuries to visitors.

One nonparticipant admitted was Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who made a smiling, hand-shaking visit to the scene during the afternoon.

Mr. Bevel later described Carmichael as "a friend and brother . . . one of the very important and outstanding black leaders in the country."

Early in the day, Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.) dropped by to don a carpenter's apron and pound a nail into a shelter.

He again endorsed the Campaign and said that as long as it is kept nonviolent and reasonable, "We must be receptive, we must listen and we must learn."

At the press briefing, Mr. Lafayette restated the SCLC aim of maintaining order. The campground, he said, "will be a non-

violent city—the first we know of in the United States."

Mr. Bevel said the protesters will practice "political psychiatry" on the Nation's leaders and "educate" them on the need to eliminate poverty now.

In another action, the National Capital Area Child Day Care Association said it would continue its day-care program for the marchers' preschool children at Sacred Heart Church, 16th Street and Park Road nw.—until the families can move into the camp site.

Meanwhile, representatives of the National Welfare Rights Organization met with officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to discuss pending welfare amendments to the Social Security Act, to which they object.

Dr. George A. Wiley, head of the Organization, said later he would call for protest demonstrations throughout the country when the amendments take effect July 1.

At Resurrection City, the first arrivals were busy getting acquainted with their new surroundings.

One Mississippi woman ran her hand across the plywood walls and commented: "This is okay. It's better than what we have at home."

The youngsters darted here and there and scampered across piles of lumber. One woman started to cuff her unruly son but was restrained by another mother, who said, "Uh-uh, no violence now."

FIVE IN MARCH TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
HURT IN CLASH WITH DETROIT POLICE

DETROIT.—A leader of the Poor People's Campaign says Detroit mounted police rode into a group of 15 marchers—including Milwaukee civil rights leader Father James Groppi—and injured five of them, none seriously.

Groppi was not injured.

About 100 members of the Midwest contingent of the march on Washington were in front of Detroit's downtown Cobo Hall yesterday protesting police efforts to remove a stalled automobile.

A march leader, Abraham Rice of Chicago, said he had been ordered by police to move the stalled communications car, equipped with a public address system.

When police tried to move in with a tow truck to remove the car, Rice ordered a group of marchers to surround it.

Then, Rice said, police moved in with clubs swinging.

Five persons were taken to Detroit General Hospital with bruises and cuts. All were treated and released.

About 200 police reinforcements quickly arrived, but they stood back while Southern Christian Leadership Conference marshals moved marchers back inside Cobo Hall.

The crowd dwindled from about 3,500 to about 1,000 as some of the march participants began tearing legs from folding tables to use as makeshift weapons. Marshals persuaded them to drop the table legs and there were no further incidents.

Police Insp. Anthony Berton, responsible for the district in which the incident occurred, could not be reached for comment. He was closeted in a conference with Police Commissioner Ray Girardin, a police spokesman said.

DEPARTURE DELAYED

Leaders of the march decided to delay their departure from Detroit until mid-afternoon. They had planned to leave for Cleveland at 9:30 this morning.

A spokesman for the committee handling local arrangements said SCLC officials would meet with Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh this afternoon to discuss last night's clash.

In a telegram to Cavanagh, the SCLC president, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy,

said he sent three aides to Detroit after he learned of the injuries resulting from what he called "a mounted police charge in a situation lacking any provocation on the part of the demonstrators."

GLORIFIED PANHANDLING—WITH A GUN

Rev. Abernathy, the illustrious leader of the Shantytown Ramble, strongly resented and denied a report of *The Washington Post* that he had said the purpose of the invasion was "to shake up the do-nothing honkies" in government.

The *Post* reporter said the quote was accurate. It would appear in character for the porcine imitator of Carmichael and Brown, for he subsequently announced to the country that in Ralph D. Abernathy, "you've got hell on your hands."

Not if Washington responds as it should to the usurpation of public property with its great risk of violence in the capital. The only honkies who are scared of him are the appeasers who don't want to offend the minority group he claims to represent. These and the forgotten honkies (and Negroes) who own businesses and property in a city already gutted by fire and a Roman holiday of pillage.

Despite a variety of laws strictly limiting the use of public parks and other areas in Washington, Abernathy has announced that he will decide where the Shack City is to be and will drive the first nail Monday. Congress will not be consulted.

They will make their own laws, squat where they please, certain in their own minds that official Washington won't lay a hand on them but even if it does decide to get tough, they still win. If Washington is intimidated, it's a victory. If Washington cracks down, as it should, it's still a victory, by the dim lights of such as Abernathy.

The arrangements announced by the National Park Service Friday and Saturday to permit a campsite for a limited number and for a limited time near the Lincoln Memorial is a surrender by officials who had opposed such use of parks.

The last time a camp-in in Washington occurred for pressure purposes was the Bonus Army march of 1932. The veterans, demanding benefits, camped in the Anacostia area, far from the Mall, until Army troops broke up the demonstration.

There is no assurance that the surrender of the Mall will restrict squatters even to that area or that they will pay any attention to any time limit. Congressional Quarterly, in a special dispatch received yesterday, reported:

"Leaders of the Poor People's Campaign definitely plan acts of civil disobedience in the event Congress fails to act promptly on their demands.

"Officials of the campaign told CQ that such acts as 'lie-ins' on Washington's major streets and 'walk-arounds' in the city's department stores were some of the methods currently being contemplated. Another, they said, was a decision not to seek a permit for the campsite for their demonstration.

"The Rev. Bernard Lafayette, national coordinator for the campaign, used an old adage he said had been coined by the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., to explain the group's rationale for acts of disobedience."

"Take a traffic light," he said, "When the light is red, emergency vehicles such as ambulances go through without breaking the law. When we come before Congress, we hope the light is green. But if the light is red, then we will have to go through some red lights."

What will be the result, aside from probable violence, of the biggest act of mob duress Congress has ever faced?

Congressional Quarterly reports that, based on a survey of Congress, the march will not accomplish much.

Among the invaders' many demands is a modification of welfare laws: specifically, repeal of the 1967 ceiling on the number of families that can receive welfare aid for families with dependent children and the requirement that welfare recipients take part in work-training.

The major demand put to Washington by Rev. Abernathy is that Congress establish a guaranteed minimum income. This stands "no chance of enactment this year," CQ says flatly.

And the outlook is as dim, or almost so, for much of the glorified panhandling which characterizes the begging and threatening.

No rational person makes light of the plight of the genuinely poor, but they are being used, to a large extent, as a front for those who are really saying nothing more than that the country owes them a living whether they want to work or not. Behind all the demands is the stated or implied threat of mass violence.

In the Great Depression, with unemployment a national plague, the number on relief reached a peak of 8,000,000 (in 1938). A generation later, in a booming economy, there are now almost 10,000,000 on relief. Many are of course cases of authentic need and helplessness. But many are not.

As a *U.S. News & World Report* puts it in an analysis of the welfare situation: "Many seem to prefer it to work."

The top organizer of the march told a rally recently that campaigners can go to Washington one night and be on welfare the next day. The Rev. James Bevel advised his listeners: "We gonna go to Washington and demonstrate, get on welfare and go to jail."

Surprisingly enough, his legal advice is apparently sound. Just the other day, District lawyers argued before the U.S. Supreme Court that if a lower court decision is allowed to stand, one which knocked out Washington's one year welfare residency requirement, the city would be deluged with welfare demands by members of Abernathy's Army.

Robert Knelp, assistant corporation counsel for the District, told a congressional committee that a three-judge decision last November, outlawing residency requirements, made it possible for demonstrators who flood the District, establish domicile (for which read shanty) and express an intention to remain, to be eligible for welfare.

Thus they will be paid public money for disrupting public business and intruding on public property. Further, they may in effect be subsidized for participating in a grand orgy which might put Washington to the torch again.

Small wonder that more and more Americans are getting sick of it all. The spectacle of the Capital of the free world, of the most powerful nation on earth, cowering before a mob which says, "Down with everything but handouts," will be too much.

The question is: Will Washington cower? Or will it react as it would if the city were selected for the unauthorized national encampment of the Ku Klux Klan?

GARBAGE EXPLOSION

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the American public has been exposed in recent years to much discussion of the problems and hazards of air and water pollution. Certainly no one can argue

that these problems are not serious and pressing.

Almost hidden from public view, however, has been the problem of solid waste disposal. The problem has not been hidden from county and city government officials—far from it. I would venture to say that there is not one Member of this House who does not have a serious waste disposal problem in his district today. The number and magnitude of these crises is going to increase geometrically, and we are going to have to start doing something about them—now.

The Office of Solid Waste Disposal in the Public Health Service is looking for solutions to the problem. The Bureau of Mines is looking into the problem of what to do with junked cars. I commend their efforts—but at the same time I must say that they and we are only scratching at the surface of the question.

The magnitude of the problem is illustrated in an article in yesterday's *New York Post*, written by Sylvia Porter, and talking about the magnitude of the problem. Miss Porter is performing a valuable service in calling this to the attention of the public, and I am hopeful that other respected public leaders will also take steps to bring the matter before their supporters. Informed public discussion of this problem can only have a most salutary effect.

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

GARBAGE EXPLOSION

(By Sylvia Porter)

It was a garbage strike in Memphis which provided the background for the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. It was a garbage strike in New York which led to a profoundly important confrontation between Gov. Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay. Garbage suddenly has become big-time social-economic news—and for understandable reasons. Consider:

If yours is an "average" family, you throw out about 20 pounds of vegetable parings, beer cans, soda bottles and other rubbish every day.

The U.S. population as a whole now discards a staggering 440,000 tons of rubbish every day, and 160,000,000 tons every year.

The amount of rubbish we are throwing away has been increasing at about twice the rate of our population increase, with the total of junk and garbage being thrown into the national rubbish bin up 60 per cent since 1950.

Our national refuse disposal bill has now reached \$3 billion a year. Of this amount, the cost to municipalities, and thus to the taxpayers, is \$1.5 billion a year. This makes refuse collection and disposal the third biggest item in the U.S. municipal budget, exceeded only by the costs of schools and roads. The rest, another \$1.5 billion, represents the costs of private refuse disposal to consumers and commercial establishments. What's more, refuse disposal costs are sure to continue to spiral upward.

City after city is running out of space for garbage dumping and sanitary landfill. Aggravating the space problem is the trend toward no-deposit-no-return bottles and the throw-away of just about everything. And the push to reduce air and water pollution is making many of our old garbage disposal techniques either obsolete or illegal.

The garbage problem is now reaching crisis proportion yet in this area of our lives we still are using virtually no modern ingenuity or automation to solve it.

